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The Outlook

APRIL 8, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
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WORKMAN'S COMPENSATION LAW DECLARED VOID

A law enacted by the last Legislature of New York, and all but universally hailed as a desirable and liberating measure, has been wiped out by the highest court of the State. This law provided that in certain enumerated occupations, designated as "especially dangerous," an employee injured, not on account of his own "serious and willful misconduct," but on account of the "necessary risk or danger of the employment," or on account of the failure of his employer, or his employer's agents or employees, to exercise due care or comply with any law affecting the employment, should be entitled to compensation from the employer, according to a prescribed scale of rates. Before this law was enacted the only recourse which the employee had was that of suing his employer in court. There are several great disadvantages in a system of compensation by lawsuit. In the first place, it entails great expense upon both the employer and the employee. In the case of a poor workman such expense is often prohibitive, while in the case of many an employing concern this expense is a large item of cost. Moreover, compensation through lawsuit is uncertain. The injured employee has no means of learning from the experience of others whether he is likely to get compensation, or when he is likely to get it; and the employer has no means of reckoning in advance what any single injury, much less what the average yearly injuries, will cost him. The Workman's Compensation Act of New York was passed to rid both employer and employee of these and other incidental evils, by providing that compensation could be automatic and not confined to a system of appeals to juries. Almost immediately after the passage of the law a case was brought in the courts denying its constitutionality. Earl Ives, an employee of the South Buffalo Railway, brought an action to recover compensation under this law. The case was decided in his favor, and the railway company appealed on the ground that the law contravened certain provisions of the Federal and State Constitutions. The Court of Appeals, which is the highest court of the State, has, by a unanimous decision, sustained the appellant, and has declared the law unconstitutional.

GROUNDS OF THE DECISION

The Court praises the work of the Legislative Commission that framed the law; but it calls the law itself "revolutionary." It does not annul the law because of restrictions of the common law, for it grants that the time-honored "fellow-servant rule," by which an employee had to bear the consequences of a fellow-employee's fault, and the equally time-honored rule of "contributory negligence," could both be regulated or even abolished by the Legislature. But it annuls the law because, as the opinion declares, "in our view of the Constitution of our State, the liability sought to be imposed upon the employers enumerated in the statute is a taking of property without due process of law, and the statute is, therefore, void." The Court reaches this conclusion after pointing out that due process of law means "regular course of administration through courts of justice." It incidentally cites the provision of the State Constitution that "trial by jury in all cases in which it has been heretofore used shall remain inviolate forever." The imposition upon employers of liability

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for accidents to employees without trial in the courts is, it thinks, "plainly a deprivation of liberty and property under the Federal and State Constitutions, unless its imposition can be justified under the police power." It refers to various legal provisions "to conserve the health, safety, or morals of the employees, and to increase the duties and responsibilities of the employer," and declares that such provisions "are rules of conduct which properly fall within the sphere of the police power;" but it expresses emphatically its opinion that the provisions of this act do not come within the police power. In brief, the Court thus bases its decision on two points: first, that this mode of compensation is taking property without due process of law; second, that this particular taking of property without due process of law is not of the sort that may be constitutional on the ground that it is the exercise of the inherent police power of the State. The Court notes that it "must regard all economic, philosophical, and moral theories, attractive and desirable though they may be, as subordinate to the primary question whether they can be molded into statutes without infringing upon the letter or spirit of our written Constitutions."

A WAY OUT

This unanimous decision of the Court of Appeals is final, for in this case no appeal lies from the State to the Federal Courts. The extraordinary result is that a law which the employers want, which the employees want, which the Legislature wants, which the people in general want, which, in brief, every one wants except a few employers, certain accident insurance companies, and a class of not highly esteemed lawyers who prosecute accident suits for a share of the damages recovered, cannot be had by a democratic community, not because it contravenes a vital principle of democracy, but because the Court holds that it is inhibited by a written constitution. To amend this State Constitution would be of little avail, since the same principle is incorporated in the Federal Constitution; and, if the Court of Appeals is correct in its opinion, the Federal Constitution would equally prohibit such a law. But, in our judgment, there is a way out. We suggest it tentatively, and if we are mistaken we shall be glad to have any of our legal readers point out our error. It is well settled that it is within the police power of the State to prohibit specially defined occupations except for persons licensed to engage in them. This principle is applied in New York State to pilots, stationary engineers, lawyers, doctors, and men engaged in other vocations. It is now extended to chauffeurs. Its most extensive application is to the liquor traffic. The State exercises the right of determining how many and who may engage in that traffic, and under what conditions. These precedents would seem to justify the contention that the State can prohibit any persons, whether individual or corporate, from engaging in any one of the hazardous vocations specified in the statute, unless licensed by the State, can require them to conduct those vocations under State supervision and control, and can, in the exercise of that control, require them to provide safety appliances and to give bonds for the payment automatically of damages for injuries suffered by employees in the course of their employment. This would not exceed the police power of the State as defined by a long course of legislative practice and judicial decisions; it would simply determine the conditions under which and the persons by whom a dangerous and licensed business can be carried on. Precedents appear to us to give abundant authority for such a law; they certainly point in that direction. And if in this opinion we are right, they indicate a way by which the Legislature can constitutionally enact a workman's compensation act which is almost universally desired, but which in its present form the Court has felt itself compelled to declare unconstitutional.

IS CRITICISM SEDITION?

For months it has been believed by many intelligent and informed citizens of New York City that there has been in that town an increase in crime and lawless vice. Whether this is true or not the ordinary citizen has no means of knowing; but he frequently has means of getting impressions that prove to be in accord with the truth. At the same time it has been the widespread belief that the police

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of New York have been losing grip upon the disorderly elements in the city because they had felt that they had not the support of their superiors in the city administration, particularly of the Mayor. Until quite recently, however, this common belief was voiced only in an unofficial way. Then one of the judges in the courts of the city, Magistrate Corrigan, wrote a public letter declaring specifically that the town was more "open" than in the days of Devery; that there was no attempt to enforce the excise law; that graft, violence, and various forms of stealing flourished with impunity; that criminals were flocking to New York; and that the police were demoralized. He placed the responsibility upon the Mayor. In reply Mayor Gaynor denounced the letter as "seditious," and referred significantly to the fact that he himself had been "instrumental" in the removal of two magistrates and had forced one to resign. The question whether New York is at present ill protected against crime and lawless vice, and whether its police are demoralized, is one that can be answered only by an investigation; The Outlook does not propose to make such an investigation. The question, however, whether a magistrate may make a criticism of the government of his city is one on which all citizens should be ready to give their answer at once. That ought to be an emphatic and unforgetable "Yes." There is danger of loose talk against those in authority; there is danger of irresponsible attacks upon public officials; but there is greater danger in attempted suppression of responsible criticism. That Magistrate Corrigan's letter is to be regarded seriously may be inferred from the fact that its allegations have the support of one of the best District Attorneys New York ever had, Eugene Philbin. When Mayor Gaynor intimated that he would like to remove Magistrate Corrigan for this utterance, he made a more serious assault on "personal liberty" than any which he has been so wont to resent.

AN UNJUST AND SENSELESS DISCRIMINATION

It is a reproach to our chivalry, our patriotism, and our sense of gratitude that from time to time in different parts of the country it occurs that enlisted men of the United States army and the United States navy who are in uniform are excluded from places of public amusement and resort. The grounds of such discrimination are not easy to discern, and, indeed, it is difficult to consider the question at all without impatience. But, reasonable or unreasonable, the discrimination is a fact, and it is apparently a characteristic of English-speaking peoples. The verse of Rudyard Kipling, if no other evidence were at hand, would indicate how the Briton vies with the American in his ill-treatment of his country's fighting men:

"I went into a theater as sober as could be,
They gave a drunk civilian room, but 'adn't none for me;
They sent me to the gallery or round the music-'alls,
But when it comes to fightin', Lord! they'll shove me in the stalls!"

But even the example of our fellow-Anglo-Saxons is no justification, and we are glad to chronicle the recent passage by Congress of a bill to protect the dignity and honor of the uniform of the United States. The bill, which has the entire approval of the War Department, was approved by the President on March 1. The Act provides that no proprietor, manager, or employee of a theater or other public place of entertainment or amusement in the District of Columbia or any Territory, or in the District of Alaska, or in an insular possession of the United States, shall make any discrimination against any person lawfully wearing the uniform of the army, navy, Revenue Cutter Service, or Marine Corps of the United States, because of that uniform, under penalty of a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars. We hope that similar legislation will be undertaken by the different States. The uniform is a badge of honor. Every good citizen should so treat it, and should do all in his power to increase the self-respect of the men who wear it.

THE OPIUM CONFERENCE

President Taft has announced the names of the American delegates to the approaching International Opium Conference to be held at The Hague. They are the Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Bishop of the Philippines; Dr. Hamilton Wright, of Maine;

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and Henry J. Finger, of California. As will be remembered, Bishop Brent headed the American delegation to the International Opium Commission at Shanghai in 1909 and became presiding officer of it; Dr. Wright was also a member of the American delegation at Shanghai and was its leader on the floor. After the close of the Commission Dr. Wright was charged by Secretary Knox with the negotiations for the new Conference, and has done much strenuous work in bringing before the public exact information on the question of opium and other drugs. Perhaps the most startling fact disclosed by Dr. Wright is that we are using as large an amount of habit-forming drugs per capita as is used in the Chinese Empire. Until we lessen the five hundred thousand pounds of yearly importation and consumption of opium we can hardly have clean hands in approaching the other Powers who will meet with us at the Hague Conference; they are China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Persia, Portugal, Russia, and Siam. Seventy thousand pounds of opium, including its derivatives and preparations, should suffice for the medical needs of the American people. Even so far as cocaine is concerned, no less than one hundred and eighty-five thousand ounces were imported, manufactured, and consumed last year, although fifteen thousand would have supplied every legitimate medical need.

THE FIRE TRAGEDY AS A WARNING

With the exception of the Brooklyn Theater fire of 1876 and the General Slocum disaster of 1904, there has never been so great a loss of life through fire in New York City or its vicinity as that which took place on March 25 in the Asch Building, on Washington Place. The upper floors of this building were used for factory purposes, and about five hundred women and girls were closely placed at long rows of sewing-machines. The scraps from their work were allowed to accumulate in heaps upon the floor, and it is believed that some one of the men employees dropped a lighted cigarette into these scraps—smoking was forbidden but not prevented. There was little provision for fighting fire, slight effort to use the hose in the hall, not the least evidence of training or preparation for such an emergency. There was one wretched fire-escape which proved a fire trap, elevators which ran as long as possible but which were quite inadequate to empty the floors quickly, narrow staircases which had barriers of goods and boards about them, doors some of which were probably closed when they should have been open. Panic was inevitable, and the screaming women were crushed or driven by heat to throw themselves by groups through the windows. The wonder is, not that one hundred and forty-two perished, but that so many escaped. After the first thrill of horror and sympathy for the victims and their families, the indignation of the people of New York sought a cause for the calamity, and found not one but many. The good that may be drawn from all this suffering is that it may at least lead to the prevention of even worse calamities in the future. Whatever blame may attach to the owner of the building or the employers of the factory operatives, the ultimate cause was civic indifference and inaction in the presence of recognized danger. This particular building was not worse than hundreds of others; evidence seems to show that it was better than the majority of structures classed when built as loft buildings and turned without change into factories. Here, for example, are a few figures from an investigation of 1,243 shops in the cloak and suit industry, made last year by the joint Board of Sanitary Control of the Cloakmakers' Union and the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association:

> In fourteen shops no fire-escapes at all have been found. In sixty-five shops the fire-escapes were provided with straight ladders, which are, as is well known, very dangerous. In 101 shops no drop ladders at all were found, or those found were placed out of reach. In 491 shops, or forty per cent of all shops inspected, there was no other exit in case of fire except one fire-escape. In twenty-three shops the doors leading to halls and stairways were found locked during the day. In sixty shops the halls were less than three feet wide. In 1,173 shops, or 97.5 per cent of all shops, the doors leading to halls were opened in, instead of out as the law requires.
>
> In a word, the investigation has shown that even with the low standards for fire protection as demanded at present by the

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labor law there are hundreds and thousands of violations in one industry alone.

But this is only one indication of the non-enforcement of law; the laws themselves are inadequate, not only in New York, but the country over, as the Newark factory fire showed. Listen on this point to Henry R. Towne, President of the Merchants' Association of New York: "This city is now spending upward of $8,000,000 a year for the control of fires, but we may safely say that the measures taken by it for the prevention of fires, or for the control of fires in their incipiency, are fragmentary, inadequate, illogical, and in large degree resultless." An expert and consulting engineer on fire protection, Mr. P. J. McKeon, declares that "New York has nearly 30,000 industrial establishments, with close to 700,000 workers in them. These are distributed among 12,000 buildings, only 1,000 of which are of fireproof construction. The remaining 11,000 factory buildings are of ordinary non-fireproof construction, with the same wood stairways and outside fire-escapes which made the Newark factory a fire trap." Still further it appears that not only do we have bad laws poorly enforced but we have conflicting jurisdiction. Powers relating to fire in New York belong to some extent, but in no case comprehensively, to the Building Department, the Tenement-House Department, the Fire Department, the Department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity, and the State Bureau of Factory Inspection. Perhaps the most important lesson of this tragedy is that responsibility must be concentrated; we must know just what official is to be called to account and punished if wrong conditions continue to exist.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

First of all, there must be thorough investigation, not merely fire marshal's and coroner's inquiry. City and State have undertaken such investigation, the city through a committee of three who have power to call in expert advisers; the State through a commission of nine who are to inquire into facts, fix responsibility, and recommend legislation. It is hoped that the Legislature may also provide for a Bureau of Fire Prevention, which should have for its fundamental purpose the maintenance of constant and thorough inspection of all premises, with a view to compelling the abolition of dangerous conditions, the installation and maintenance of automatic and other appliances for the prompt extinction of fires in their incipiency, and the provision and maintenance of adequate exits and fire-escapes, and possibly the enforcement of fire-drills by employees. This measure has long been advocated by disinterested experts to do away with that division of authority and duty indicated above. As to specific reforms, the constituted authorities must make and constantly enforce regulations based on such common-sense considerations as these: that a fireproof building *may* be fireproof as a stove is—we must think of fittings and contents and save the property and life inside as well as the outer walls; that regulation should be based on the number of people in the building and their occupations, not alone on the construction of the buildings—office buildings, lofts, and factories differ widely as to danger, and should be treated separately; that no laws are of worth unless strict, constant inspection is provided for—and then we must inspect the inspectors; that fire drills in factories should be by law obligatory—such drills have saved countless lives in school fires; that thorough provision, automatic when possible, should be made to put out fires before they get well under way—such provision might have saved the lives lost in Washington Place; that tests should be made of the time in which a given building can be emptied, and thus its right equipment in fire-escapes and staircases be ascertained; that wherever needed and possible fire stairways should be used instead of outer fire-escapes—Fire Chief Croker describes the fire stairway as "an entirely separate stairway leading to the street and having no doors opening into the interior of the building. Such stairways face the outside wall on the interior of the building. They are fireproofed on three sides, and on the outside of the building on each floor runs an iron balcony on to which this fire staircase opens." By these and other methods we must wage, as has been said, a campaign against fire as we are waging a campaign against tuber-

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culosis. Americans are charged with being prone to take chances; if we continue to take chances in New York, men like Chief Croker predict that such calamities as that of last year in Newark and that of the other day in New York will frequently be repeated, and that the danger to the very existence of our large cities is by no means slight or remote.

THE NEW YORK STATE CAPITOL

The destruction by fire of the entire western part of the New York State Capitol at Albany on Wednesday of last week emphasizes two lessons of the Washington Place disaster: the granite structure was called "fireproof," but the contents were inflammable and burned like fuel in a furnace; there was no preparation to quench fire at the start (one correspondent says that it could have been put out by a few bucketfuls of water), and for lack of intelligent forethought irreparable damage ensued. The building can be restored or rebuilt—it is a question of time and money only—but nothing can replace or compensate for the original historical documents and public records. Some of the most precious archives, such as Washington's Farewell Address and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, had been placed in a special safe and have been preserved, but others only less important seem to have been exposed to danger as if they were yesterday's newspapers. Here is a list of a few features in the splendid collection of Americana:

> The first charter of the Colony of New York, in manuscript, from Charles I to the Duke of York; the papers which were found on Major André; the first charter of Trinity Church, New York, from the British Crown; and the great collection of Clinton papers, the most personal documents of the Revolutionary Governor, containing many hundreds of letters from Washington.

The State Library's collection of English and Dutch colonial documents, its Law Library, and its special collection of books relating to biography and genealogy formed one of the proudest possessions of the State. That such treasures from the past should have been carelessly exposed to destruction seems almost unbelievable. As to the Capitol itself, the entire building cost $27,000,000, but to-day could be replaced for a far smaller sum. Public opinion has long regarded it as certain that graft in many forms marked its history. In architecture it has found few admirers, and professional and critical opinion considers it distinctly inferior.

THE WOMAN'S MISSIONARY JUBILEE

Nothing in our time has been more impressive and moving than the procession of meetings across the continent in celebration of the Woman's Missionary Jubilee, which culminated in New York last week. The whole continent had made preparation for the closing series in the gathering together of assemblies hardly smaller than those in New York. Five hundred women assembled in the Congressional Club in Washington, and a large drawing-room meeting was held in the home of Mrs. John Hay, at which eminent missionaries spoke. These drawing-room meetings have been very effective in attracting women who have not been familiar with the tremendous vitality and progress of modern missions. Nearly five thousand women lunched together in Pittsburgh, and there were six thousand at the mass-meeting. In every city the meetings have evoked great gifts of money. In Boston Tremont Temple was filled five minutes after the doors were opened. In cities of the size of Newark and Orange large and influential assemblies have been gathered. The spontaneous enthusiasm which marked every assemblage of women in this great and stirring crusade was so great that the New York meeting can hardly be said to register the culmination; but no meetings could have been more impressive than those in the metropolis. Three great hotels—the Astor, Waldorf, and the Plaza—were taxed to furnish room for thousands of women who attended the luncheons. There were rallies in the different churches, where the amounts of pledges were reported and knowledge of the work and inspiration for the future imparted to great congregations. One portion of the Jubilee offering in New York is to be used in building a Union Medical College for women in Peking, which will supplement the Union College

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for men already located there. No fact indicates the need of physician missionaries in the non-Christian world more impressively than the statement that if physicians in this country were no more numerous than they are in that world, there would be only thirty-two, all told, male and female, in the entire United States.

THE JUBILEE IN NEW YORK

The closing series of Jubilee meetings began on Monday and ended Thursday night in a great mass-meeting filling Carnegie Hall. Large assemblies of women met day after day in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church for prayer and praise and to listen to stirring addresses from missionary pioneers at home and abroad. Prayer, unity, and broad, enlightened service were three points continually dwelt upon in the speeches of the Jubilee leaders. The efficacy of prayer was illustrated by numberless incidents related by the chairmen from many cities visited. Unity among different branches of the Church was so evident, and had gathered so great momentum in the committees of preparation all over the country, that it seemed as if the term had passed out of use in the realization of the fact. The speakers spoke naturally, with wit and with spiritual apprehension of their duty. If any one has had the idea that missionary meetings were gloomy affairs and missionaries gloomy folk, that idea was forever dispelled during these meetings. Since 1860 statistics from the Women's Foreign Missionary Societies of ten denominations show an aggregate gift of forty-one million dollars, the Methodist Episcopal Church leading with $11,713,632, closely followed by the Presbyterian Church with $10,197,515, and none of the others falling below a million. Much greater things are to be done in these days of enlarged vision and of greater knowledge. So far as reported, the Jubilee aim of a million-dollar offering has not been realized. Doubtless more money will be given after the meetings. About $870,000 has been already pledged, New York bringing $134,000 into the treasury. Through their admirable organization the effect of these great, inspiring meetings will not be lost to the Churches, but women will work more hopefully and more intelligently because they realize that each division is marching with all the others.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE A BOND OF PEACE

The celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the completion of the King James version of the English Bible, the most influential and widely known book in the English language, is now taking place in all parts of the English-speaking world. At a great mass-meeting in Albert Hall, London, last week, the religious and literary aspects of the anniversary were presented with a vitality and freshness which stirred the audience to enthusiasm. The perfunctory manner which sometimes attends occasions of this kind was conspicuously absent, and the place which the Bible holds in the hearts of the English people was very impressively shown. Mr. Reid, the American Ambassador, who made one of the principal addresses, declared that the English Bible furnishes the strongest and most indestructible bond for the unity of the English-speaking family of nations in aims and aspirations, and is the greatest single guarantee of the peace and progress of the world. At the very opening of the meeting it was quite evident that the interest would be divided between the commemoration of the English Bible and permanent arbitration between the two countries. The Premier declared that war between England and America would be a crime against civilization and that it was no longer thinkable, and the Archbishop of Canterbury paid a tribute to Mr. Reid's services as peacemaker. The interest culminated when a letter from Mr. Taft was read, and at its conclusion, on the suggestion of the Marquis of Northampton, the great audience, as a mark of respect for the President, sprang to its feet, showing every evidence of the deepest feeling. The directness and simplicity of the President's letter and its emphasis on the fundamental aspects of the celebration make it worthy of a great occasion:

To the Tercentenary Celebration of the Publication of the King James Version, Royal Albert Hall, London, England:

It affords me very great pleasure to present through Mr. Reid my congratula-

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tions to those who in the mother country are commemorating so signal a historic event as the publication of the King James version of the English Bible. This book of books has not only reigned supreme in England for three centuries, but has bound together as nothing else could two great Anglo-Saxon nations, one in blood, in speech, and in a common religious life. Our laws, our literature, and our social life owe whatever excellence they possess largely to the influence of this, our chief classic, acknowledged as such equally on both sides of the sea.

Americans must therefore with unfeigned satisfaction join in thanksgiving to the God of the Bible who has thus bound together the Old and New Worlds by so precious a tie.

I can speak, I am sure, for my fellow-countrymen in congratulating you on so significant a commemoration.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Celebrations of this great international event are taking place in many parts of the country, and a notable meeting has been arranged to be held in Carnegie Hall in New York City on the evening of Tuesday, April 25. The Outlook will commemorate the anniversary both by editorial discussion and by the publication of articles on "Three Centuries of the English Bible," by George H. Gilbert, D.D., and on "The Most Popular Book in the English Language," by Mr. Bruce Barton.

THE REASONS FOR STOLYPIN'S RESIGNATION

The latest news received from St. Petersburg makes clear the fact that the principal reason for the Prime Minister's resignation was the rejection in the Council of the Empire of his bill for the establishment of *zemstvos* in the western provinces. Readers who have no means of knowing the purport and significance of legislative measures introduced by the Government in Russia are likely to assume that Stolypin's bill was an attempt to improve the condition of the people in the western provinces by giving them the right to govern themselves in local matters through duly elected district and provincial assemblies, and that the defeat of this measure in the upper house of the Russian Parliament was a triumph of the reactionists over a Liberal Premier. Such, however, was by no means the case. The bill for the establishment of *zemstvos* in the western provinces was designed, primarily, to lessen the power of the Poles in that part of the Empire and to decrease the number of Polish representatives in the upper house by means of a *zemstvo* election law which would practically disfranchise the Poles and the Russian peasantry, and throw the balance of political power into the hands of a numerically insignificant group of Russian landed proprietors, upon whose support the Government could confidently rely. The bill was not a Liberal measure, nor was it intended to benefit the western provinces by giving them the same right of local self-government that most of the other provinces of European Russia enjoy. It was an attempt on the part of the Government to decrease the number of Polish representatives in the Council of the Empire and lessen the influence of the Polish nobility in the western provinces by so apportioning the right of franchise among the different classes of the population as to give predominating political power, not to the most numerous or most intelligent class, but to the class that would most unhesitatingly support the Government's policy of Russification and peasant subjection. One of the most prominent opponents of the bill in the Council of the Empire was Count Witte, who declared that the proposed law was wholly inconsistent with the reforms of Alexander II; that it ignored the rights and interests of nine-tenths of the population affected by it; and that while it might strengthen the hands of the Government by substituting a few Russians for a few Poles in the upper house of Parliament, it would put the local interests of twelve or fourteen million Russian peasants into the hands of a comparatively small number of landed proprietors, who were not qualified by character or education to assume such responsibility or exercise such power.

A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

The defeat of this bill in the Council of the Empire led to Stolypin's resignation; but the Czar seems to have been afraid to let his resolute Prime Minister go; and after a few days of indecision and uncertainty, Stolypin was persuaded to reconsider his action, upon condition, apparently, that the western-

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provinces *zemstvo* bill be made law without regard to its rejection by the Council of the Empire. There was only one way in which the Czar could give the bill obligatory force without parliamentary sanction, and that was by promulgating it in the form of an imperial ukase. Inasmuch, however, as the fundamental laws of the Empire give the monarch power to initiate legislation only when Parliament is not in session, the Czar prorogued both houses for three days, and then promulgated the western provinces *zemstvo* bill as an "emergency" measure. This autocratic action seems to have raised a storm of indignation and protest. Alexander I. Guchkof, President of the Duma, resigned his position, and the Octobrists, who hold the balance of political power in the lower house, and who have hitherto supported Stolypin, joined the parties of the Left in denouncing the Premier's action and the course that he had advised the Czar to adopt with reference to the *zemstvo* bill. Since the adoption of the Constitution Nicholas II has twice before legislated by ukase; first when he amended the election laws in such a way as to get a subservient Duma, and, second, when he promulgated the Agrarian Settlement Act, as a means of breaking up the Russian communes. In both of these cases, however, Parliament was not in session; and he had an excuse, at least, for his arbitrary action. The present situation is wholly different, and members of all political parties are likely to question his right to bring about, artificially, a suspension of parliamentary activity, in order to evade the constitutional limitation of his autocratic power.

THE ITALIAN EXPOSITIONS

At midnight between Sunday and Monday of last week a gun fired from the Janiculum Hill at Rome announced that the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Italian unity had begun. From that hour Rome was astir. Bands played patriotic airs in the principal streets, which, already gay with flags and bunting, were bright till dawn with lights, and crowds filled the various squares, shouting "*Viva Roma!*" and "*Viva Italia!*" During the day the King and Queen and the royal family paid visits to the commemorative exhibitions. After the King's address the doors of the exhibition were thrown open. International exhibitions at Rome of art and history, and at Turin of labor and industry, are being held in celebration of the semi-centenary. Americans are, of course, especially interested in their sections. At Rome the American pavilion has been constructed by Messrs. Carrère & Hastings in the Colonial style, the material used being tapestry or damask brick. In his tour of the various pavilions the King expressed much admiration of the originality of our own. The exhibitions are interesting in many a department. For instance, in architecture, at Rome prizes of ten thousand dollars, twenty thousand dollars, and thirty thousand dollars are to be awarded to architects of completely finished houses; in addition to this, Italian architects are offered three twenty-thousand-dollar prizes for the best completely finished house for a poor man, a fairly well-to-do man, or a rich man. Among the features at Turin are a model representing an ideal modern town, and the exhibits of industrial education and of electricity, in which experts will anticipate a special showing from a country which has given birth to Galvani, Volta, and Marconi. Turin and Rome are the natural sites for these exhibitions. Turin typifies the great movement which fifty years ago issued in union and independence. For three hundred years it was the capital of the Dukes of Savoy and Kings of Sardinia, and from 1861 to 1864 was the first capital of the Kingdom of Italy. Rome's distinction, as regards the celebration, lies, of course, in the fact that since 1870 it has been the capital of all Italy.

THE HEALTH OF ITALY

A trustworthy correspondent in Europe asks us to assure our readers of the falsity of the reports that health conditions in Italy are bad, and that a visit to the two great exhibitions in Rome and in Turin are perilous to health. He affirms that it is charged that reports of unhealthy conditions are spread by hotel-keepers who are commercially interested in preventing the diversion of travelers to Italy, and by ecclesiastics who are prejudiced against the Italian Government and desire to bring it discredit.

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Our correspondent adds that he has made extensive inquiries for his own sake about the cholera and the smallpox, and everything seems to be all right again. Since the draining of the Pontine Marshes Rome is as healthful a city as New York or Boston—we believe the mortality statistics show it to be healthier. In their effort to celebrate the rebirth of Italy half a century ago, the Italian people ought to have the enthusiastic support, not the chilling indifference or the latent hostility, of their Church, and the warm sympathy of all Americans and all lovers of liberty throughout the world.

SIR PURDON CLARKE

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York City, is no longer a private enterprise. It was such when the late General di Cesnola was Director. At that time certain public-spirited citizens, in carrying on the undertaking, contended with difficulties little appreciated by the majority of citizens. The Metropolitan is now a great public institution; and this change of base is due in large measure to General di Cesnola's successor, Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, who died last week at the age of sixty-five. As we had no museums in America in which men have been trained to the duties of directorship, the trustees were forced to go abroad to secure an efficient chief. They found him in Sir Purdon Clarke, an expert in architecture and textiles who had had the necessary years of training for administrative duties, had become Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London—better known as the South Kensington Museum—and had developed it into a great educational institution such as we hope to see the Metropolitan Museum become. So eminent were Sir Purdon's services to the Metropolitan that, a year ago, when failing health forced him to resign, the Trustees continued his salary of fifteen thousand dollars for the ensuing year, and voted to him an annual salary thereafter at the rate of five thousand dollars. No one could meet Sir Purdon without being impressed by his geniality of manner and his common sense. He was the most approachable of men. A host of friends will sorrow as they think that no longer will his kindly, ruddy face with its fine white hair be seen among us. But they will specially miss his ready sympathy with all kinds of artistic development, notably with industrial art. For wall paper interested him quite as much as painting and sculpture, and he made the Museum serve the artisan as well as the artist. His activities were by no means limited to his directorship. He took every occasion to co-operate with the Arts and Crafts movement in the New York City schools, pointing out that such training is a good thing for any child, whether he is to use it in after life or not, because it gives him a sense of appreciation not possessed by the child who has never been so taught.

THE PROGRESS OF THE DRAMA

The serious popular interest in the theater has received illustration in the crowding of the New Theater in New York to hear the first of Professor Brander Matthews's lectures illustrating "The Development of the English Drama," emphasizing especially the effect upon playwriting of past and present methods of staging plays, the lectures being illustrated by the production of parts of the plays which form their subject, costumed and acted, so far as possible, to reproduce the effect which the plays produced on contemporary audiences. The first lecture dealt with the beginnings of English drama and had as its subject two old plays, "Noah's Flood" and "Nice Wanton." After discussing the religious origin of the drama, and pointing out the evolution of the Passion Play, the curtain rose on the public square in a mediæval English town, filled with people waiting for the play which was to be acted from a pageant wagon representing Noah's ark. The quaint simplicity, directness, and sincerity of the play, the touches of humor, the occasional infusion of pathos, interested the audience deeply. The moralities were next illustrated by "Nice Wanton," the story of two children who were spoiled by their mother and came to a bad end. The scene of action was again the square in an English town; but now, instead of a pageant wagon, the followers were gathered about the stage which the players had put up.

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There was no scenery beyond a background and a curtain; but the drama had already made a marked advance, and the audience, which sat quietly during a long afternoon, was deeply and intelligently interested. It is by filling in the historical background of the modern drama that the significance and dignity of the play will be made clear to modern audiences.

THE UNIVERSITY AS NEIGHBOR

Harvard University has recently taken two actions of the sort which when taken by an individual entitle him to be called a good citizen and a good neighbor. The old idea that a college was a monastery, a place of refuge, a retreat, and that it fulfilled its function if it provided instruction and a place for study to its students, was not without its good effects. Much of the charm of Oxford and Cambridge was due to this old tradition of seclusion. That ideal, however, cannot be justified in the modern world, and it is passing away. Harvard has often shown its leadership, and again it is showing it in the steps it is taking toward the idea of a university as a good neighbor. In the first place, it has decided to be a good neighbor to the city in which it is placed. By an understanding between the Harvard Corporation and the city of Cambridge, Harvard has agreed (1) to give free tuition for their freshman year to all Cambridge boys from the high schools whose parents cannot afford to pay their expenses, Harvard thus becoming, as it were, the capstone of the city's public school system; (2) to offer, subject to the approval of the Dean, reduced rates to Cambridge teachers in the summer schools of arts and science; (3) to offer, so far as possible, the use of the University athletic fields in Cambridge for playgrounds for the children of Cambridge; (4) to provide that, within reasonable limits, upon the request of the city authorities made to the President, and with his approval, expert advice on municipal affairs of the city shall be given gratuitously by members of the faculties of the University. In making this arrangement Harvard has done just the sort of thing that a good citizen would like to do. Harvard, however, has not limited its efforts at neighborliness. The University has made an arrangement with four Western colleges—Colorado College, Grinnell College of Iowa, Knox College of Illinois, and Beloit College of Wisconsin. These four colleges have been selected because they have maintained sound traditions and because they are independent colleges, deriving their support neither from the State nor from any denominational body, in this respect standing on the same basis as Harvard. The agreement establishes an exchange of teachers somewhat after the fashion of that which has been in existence between certain American and European universities. To these colleges Harvard each year is to send one of its leading instructors, who will spend an equal portion of half of the college year with each college. This year the professor chosen by Harvard to go to these Western colleges is Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, of the Department of History. In return, every year each of these colleges is to send East to Harvard one of its younger instructors, who for half of the academic year will spend one-third of his time in teaching, and the rest, if he will, to graduate and research work in any of the departments of the University. In this way each side will give and receive. Each of the visiting instructors will carry some of the spirit of his own institution to his host, and bring back to his own institution something of the flavor of life and thought in that which he has been visiting. In these two arrangements Harvard has not only done something to unite the educational forces of the country, but also to bring together elements that have too often been antagonistic, in one case Town and Gown, in the other East and West.

ECHOES OF THE SEPARATION LAW IN FRANCE

Within the past month two events, one in the Roman Catholic and one in the Protestant world, have called attention to the operations of the law separating Church and State in France. The first event was the declaration at the recent Diocesan Congress in Paris, by Monsignor Amette, Archbishop of Paris, that in 1910 only twenty-six priests were ordained in that city, that so far in 1911 there have been only six candidates, and that if present conditions

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continued there would soon be no young priests at all. "The chief cause of this state of things," the Archbishop is reported to have said, "is the persecution of the Church during the last ten years by the civil authorities." Moreover, "parents set their children against the priesthood as a career. There are many villages in France without a priest and where Catholic services are conducted by laymen only. The Church is poor, and the evil can be remedied only by increasing the Church's financial resources." All this is, we suppose, practically true. But it is fundamentally due to the wide spread of unbelief among all classes in France. This explains not only the lack of funds and the lack of candidates for the ministry, but also the ease with which Church and State were separated. No matter how necessary the law of separation, the Church needs time and sympathy to adjust itself to its new environment and to overcome the numerous petty acts of injustice to which it is now subject. In time these will doubtless be corrected. The second event is the announcement that the French Episcopal Church in Twenty-seventh Street, near Fourth Avenue, New York City, will hereafter reopen one or two of the recently closed Protestant churches in France. We do not perhaps sufficiently realize that Protestants as well as Roman Catholics have had to bear the rigor of the Separation Law. If that law cut off the State support of Roman Catholic clergymen, it also cut off the State support of Protestant clergymen. Certain privileges enjoyed by both communions were also cut off, and this bears even more heavily on the Protestant than on the Roman Catholic clergy. As the French people have not been trained to support religion as the people do in this country, foreign aid is not unacceptable.

THE NEW SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

The long struggle over the choice of a Democrat to represent the State of New York in the United States Senate ended on Friday of last week with the election, on the sixty-fourth ballot, of James A. O'Gorman, a Justice of the New York Supreme Court. The so-called Insurgents have thus succeeded in their determination to prevent the nomination of Mr. Sheehan as an unfit candidate, and have also apparently barred the way to the nomination of one or more other obviously unfit candidates. The final result may be regarded as a compromise, and when the disparity in numbers between the regular or strict organization Democrats and the independent minority is considered, the outcome is not to be regarded as a defeat for those who have protested against machine rule. Undoubtedly Justice O'Gorman is a Tammany organization man; his political career for thirty years or more has been closely connected with Tammany, and he has held more than one office within that organization. On the other hand, he has served twelve years as a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and a few months ago declined a request from all the Judges of the Court of Appeals to accept a position on that highest bench. Senator Roosevelt, the leader of the Insurgents, after the election declared that Justice O'Gorman was a jurist of the highest attainments and would enter the front ranks in the National councils. On the final vote Justice O'Gorman received one hundred and twelve ballots, while ninety-seven were necessary to a choice. His name was not included in a list of candidates submitted by the Insurgents to the other faction with the understanding that any man named would be accepted by the Insurgents, but Justice O'Gorman is probably quite as acceptable to the Independents as some of the men included in that list. In the final caucus two of the bolting Senators (Roosevelt and Burd) and twelve of the bolting Assemblymen refused to take part. The New York "World," a Democratic paper which has opposed Mr. Sheehan, comments as follows: "Independent Democracy alone made his election possible. It compelled the Boss to abandon William F. Sheehan. It blocked the Murphy scheme to make Daniel F. Cohalan Senator. It stood firmly against all the Murphy and Ryan candidates that were mysteriously paraded out of secret conferences. It finally drove Murphy to go to the Supreme Bench and forced him to take one of its strongest and ablest Judges, the kind of candidate that the Boss would never have assented to in any other circumstances."

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RACE DECADENCE

An Australian writer, Mr. Beale, has written a work on Racial Decay,[1] not good in form, but in substance I believe better worth the study of every sincere patriot, not merely in Australia, Great Britain, and Canada, but in the United States of America, than any other book that has been written for years. It sets forth in detail, and illustrates by chart, certain facts which have long been familiar to students and thinkers who care to face the truth, and whose studies and thought are not superficial. But, unfortunately, the facts set forth, though of fundamental importance to the whole people, are so unpleasant that ease-loving persons who do not care for anything that causes them disquiet refuse to look them in the face; and the great bulk of good people are in ignorance of them, or at least wholly fail to appreciate their far-reaching significance.

Mr. Beale deals with the startling decline of the birth rate in Great Britain, the Australian States, and France, this decline being due to the capital sin, the cardinal sin, against the race and against civilization—willful sterility in marriage. He only touches on the United States incidentally; but every student of the subject knows that the United States shares with the other English-speaking countries the melancholy and discreditable position of coming next to the people of France, among great civilized countries, in that rapid decline of the birth rate which inevitably signalizes race decay, and which, if unchecked, means racial death. Mr. Beale shows that the decline of the birth rate in France because of willful sterility in marriage began fifty or sixty years ago, and has continued to such a point that the French race in France for the last decade has been actually decreasing in numbers, the population of France being kept practically level only by the higher birth rate among immigrants, chiefly Italians and Germans. Among the English-speaking peoples there has long been much complacent pointing at France as a nation that no longer held its own among the peoples of the earth. As a matter of fact, the English-speaking peoples have now all entered on the same course which France has followed until year by year she has become less and less able to rank as the equal of Germany. Moreover, the decline in the birth rate among the English-speaking peoples has proceeded at an even more rapid rate than in France itself. One of the strangest and saddest things in the whole sad business is that the decline has been most marked in the very places where one would expect to see the abounding vigor of the race most strikingly displayed. In Australia and New Zealand there is no warrant whatever in economic conditions for a limitation of the birth rate, and the course of events in these great new countries demonstrates beyond possibility of refutation that the decline in the birth rate is not due to economic forces, and has no relation whatsoever to hard conditions of living. New Zealand is as large as Great Britain and as fertile. Its population is between one-thirtieth and one-fortieth of that of Great Britain. It is composed of the sons and grandsons of the most enterprising and adventurous people in the Old Country, and the New Zealand people have realized to an extraordinary degree the institutional and industrial ambitions of democracy everywhere; yet the rate of natural increase in New Zealand is actually lower than in Great Britain, and has tended steadily to decrease. The Australians are sparsely scattered over the fringe of the great island continent. It is a continent which could support, without the slightest difficulty, tenfold the present population, and at the same time raise the general standard of well-being. Yet its sparse population tends to concentrate in great cities of disproportionate size compared to the country population, just exactly as is the case in England and the United States, and in so many of the countries of Europe; and it increases so slowly that, even if the present rate were maintained, the population would not double itself in the next century; while, if the rate of decrease of the last decade continues, the population will have become stationary by the middle of the century. If this is so, then the men who rally to

[1] Racial Decay: A Compilation of Evidence from World Sources. By Octavius Charles Beale, a Royal Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1907, and of New Zealand, 1903. Angus & Robertson, Sydney, Australia.

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the battle-cry of "A White Australia" have indeed ground for anxiety as they think of the teeming myriads steadily increasing north of them in Asia. In private life no man can permanently hold land of which he makes no use, and in the life of nations it is absolutely certain that in the end no race can hold a territory save on condition of developing and populating it.

The same causes that are at work in Australia and New Zealand are at work in just as acute a form among the English-speaking people of Canada, and in a less acute form, but in a form constantly growing more acute, in Great Britain. Moreover, they are at work here in the United States no less actively, and their effects are only partially obscured by the enormous immigration hither. In most of the Southern States there is as yet a purer and higher standard of conduct in this matter; the men and women are truer to the old standards of duty and morality in these fundamental matters which touch the very life of a race, and therefore the birth rate has not yet materially fallen. But throughout the North and West there has been the same shrinkage as in Australia, Canada, and Great Britain, and in the New England States the shrinkage has been not only greater than in the British Empire but greater than in France itself. There has been much talk of the New England conscience. Most certainly in the past the New England conscience has been a mighty factor in the spiritual growth of this Nation. But the New England conscience now sadly needs to be awakened to the frightful and fundamental immorality which it has ignored and condoned. It is utterly vain, it is a shameful thing, to be conscientious about minor and relatively unimportant matters, and yet unconscientious about one great and all-important matter. Entirely disregarding the effects of emigration, it is true that there are fewer New Englanders of old American ancestry in the New England States to-day than there were fifty years ago at the outbreak of the Civil War.

The American stock is being cursed with the curse of sterility, and it is earning the curse, because the sterility is willful. It is due to moral, and not pnysiological, shortcomings. It is due to coldness, to selfishness, to love of ease, to shrinking from risk, to an utter and pitiful failure in sense of perspective and in power of weighing what really makes the highest joy, and to a rooting out of the sense of duty or a twisting of that sense into improper channels. Moreover, this same racial crime is spreading almost as rapidly among the sons and daughters of immigrants as among the descendants of the native born. If it were confined to Americans of old stock, while it would be a matter of shame to us who are of the old stock, we could at least feel that the traditions and principles and purposes of the founders of the Republic would find their believers and exponents among their descendants by adoption; and in such case I, for one, would heartily throw in my fate with the men of alien stock who were true to the old American principles rather than with the men of the old American stock who were traitors to the old American principles. But the children of the immigrants show the same willful sterility that is shown by the people of the old stock. It is almost unnecessary to say that the sterility is not physiological—of course disregarding the naturally numerous exceptions—and is in no sense due to the change from Europe to another land. For over two centuries after coming here the descendants of the European settlers were among the most prolific of mankind; and the same is true now of the whites of the Southern Appalachian region; while there is probably no race on the face of the earth more prolific than the French of Canada, who have become and continued such during the very centuries which have seen the sterility among their kinsfolk, the French of Europe, grow until the race is actually going backward in point of numbers.

During the last decade the increase in population of the United States was almost two-thirds by immigration, the increase by birth rate showing a far lower percentage than ever before. Lincoln rarely ventured to prophesy. His chief prophecy, which looked far ahead into the future, was about our growth of population, and this has been lamentably falsified by the facts. He prophesied that by this time we would have over two hundred

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millions of people; and so we would have had if the United States had continued to increase at the rate that it increased during Lincoln's lifetime. As it is, if the present rate of decrease in the birth rate continues, this country will have become stationary in population by the middle of the century; and so will the English-speaking peoples of the British Empire.

Men have striven to take comfort to themselves by saying that all civilized races are having the same experience. It is not so. There are some of the smaller states of Europe which have already begun to show similar decadence; but the people of Germany have as yet hardly begun to show it. The great cities, Berlin and Hamburg, for instance, do show it substantially as it is shown in New York, Chicago, and London; and if this tendency is not checked, Germany, in its turn, will begin to travel the same road which France has long traveled, and which the English-speaking peoples are now traveling. It was the warfare of the cradle more than anything else which during the nineteenth century gave Germany its preponderant and dominating position in Europe. In this warfare Germany now shows signs of yielding to the Slavonic peoples, for the Slavonic races have been hitherto totally unaffected by the movement.

What I saw a year ago in East Africa was illuminating. In British East Africa the men who discovered the country, who annexed it, who started to settle it, who are governing it, who have made it what it is, are the English. But the men who are breeding its future citizens and masters are the Dutch! The Englishmen there are fine fellows; they are doing excellent general work; I like and admire them. But as settlers they are hopelessly behind the Boer farmers whom I met, because they have very small families, and most of them do not look on the country as their permanent home. Of ten settlers of each nationality the ten Englishmen will be the leading men in the present life of the colony; but most of them are looking forward to going "home," as they call it, to England; only three or four of them will be married, and those will among them have only five or six children. The ten Boers think of Africa as their home; each is married, and almost every one has a good-sized, probably a large, family; and, unless conditions change, the future is theirs, so far as the white race in that part of Africa is concerned.

Again, to quiet their uneasy consciences, cheap and shallow men and women, when confronted with these facts, answer that "quality is better than quantity," and that decrease of numbers will mean increase in individual prosperity. It is false. When quantity falls off, thanks to willful sterility, the quality will go down too. During the half-century in which France has remained nearly stationary, while Germany has nearly doubled in population, the average of individual prosperity has grown much faster in Germany than in France; and social and industrial unrest and discontent have grown faster in France than in Germany.

It is never safe to prophesy. Neither I nor any one else can say what will happen in the future. But we can speak conditionally. We can say that, if the processes now at work for a generation continue to work in the same manner and at the same rate of increase during the present century, by its end France will not carry the weight in the civilized world that Belgium now does, and the English-speaking peoples will not carry anything like the weight that the Spanish-speaking peoples now do, and the future of the white race will rest in the hands of the German and the Slav. Are Americans really content that this land of promise, this land of the future, this abounding and vigorous Nation, shall become decrepit in what ought to be the flower of its early manhood? Our forefathers were the heroes of the tremendous epic that tells of the conquest of a continent. The conquerors, the men who dared and did, with hearts of steel and thews of iron, looked fearlessly into the eyes of the future, and quailed before no task and no danger; are their sons and daughters, in love of effortless ease and fear of all work and risk, to let the blood of the pioneers die out of the land because they shrink from the most elemental duties of manhood and womanhood?

I am well aware of the extreme difficulty in getting any serious attention

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paid to this matter, although it is the most vital of all matters. Too often the average man treats it as a subject for jocularity—often for brutal and vulgar jocularity; while the men and the women who like to think of themselves as leaders of light and learning, and to earn their reputations cheaply, turn away from the subject as unpleasant, and busy themselves about what in comparison are unimportant futilities. Yet the importance of all other subjects depends absolutely upon treating this subject as of far more importance. As a Nation we pride ourselves upon taking great thought about education. But it is useless to waste time on education if there are not going to be enough children to educate. To spend thought and money in elaborate plans for the bringing up and cultivation of a young man amounts to nothing if we have also arranged that he shall commit suicide shortly after he gets of age; and so it is idle to take thought about the Nation's future if the men and women of this generation are to leave behind them only a dwindling remnant to inherit this future. Surely it ought to be obvious that no material prosperity and mental cultivation, that none even of the minor and subsidiary virtues, will count for anything in the life of an individual if he puts an end to that life; and surely it ought to be obvious that this is just as true of a race as of an individual; and yet there are any number of people, including men who delight to style themselves apostles of culture and adherents of schools of advanced economic thought, who will not see this perfectly plain and obvious truth. If men and women do not marry, and if there are not sufficient children to a marriage, the race will in a short time vanish—surely any one can see this. If there are no children to a marriage, the race vanishes with the generation itself; and if there are only one or two children to a marriage, the vanishing of the race is only put off for a short time. Sterile marriages include those where there are but one or two children, just as they include those where there are no children; willful sterility is as much a crime against the race in the case of the one-child or two-child marriage as in the case of the marriage where there are no children. From the standpoint of the race the average three-child marriage must probably also be treated as a sterile marriage; for the one extra child does not, on the average, cover the cases of death, the cases where for proper and legitimate reasons the man or woman does not marry, and the cases where married people through no fault of their own fail to have children. The race cannot go ahead, it will not keep its numbers even, unless the average man and woman who are married and who are capable of having children have a family of four children. These, and these only, are the men and women with whom the whole future of the Nation, the whole future of civilization, rests.

I know well every form of cheap sophistry which can be used in answer to this statement. I know well how certain it is that this statement will be twisted out of shape, and how some men, who for their own purpose choose to pretend to misunderstand it, will cause it to be misunderstood by some good men and women who have not thought deeply. But it is a statement which not only must be made, but upon which all true lovers of their country and lovers of mankind should insist with their whole hearts.

Many willfully sterile people actually regard themselves as good citizens, and even look down on what they stigmatize as "vice." But in reality willful sterility inevitably produces and accentuates every hideous form of vice. Nor is this all. It is itself worse, more debasing, more destructive, than ordinary vice. Every decent citizen must abhor vice; I rank celibate profligacy as not one whit better than polygamy; yet, after all, such vice may be compatible with a nation's continuing to live; and while there is life, even a life marred by wrong practices, there is chance of reform. But the cardinal sin of willful sterility in marriage means death; and for the dead there is no reform.

Is it possible to change the heart of a people, to make them abandon a vice like this? The author of the book before me believes not. He believes that when men and women abandon thought of duty, and care only for ease and gross material pleasures, no appeal can be made to them which will make them reform. I

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am not prepared to take this view. I believe that at heart the average American man and the average American woman are sound, and that while at the moment they may disregard all appeal, all preaching, yet that sooner or later there will come a deep moral awakening which will stir them to a realization of what is happening before it is too late to undo it. Very many doctors and clergymen are already thus morally awake. The prime requisite is to arouse among our people, individually and collectively, an understanding that the full performance of duty is not only right in itself but also the source of the profoundest satisfaction that can come in life; and, furthermore, the understanding that no duty is so great as that which our people are thus tending to shirk. I believe that the fault is as much that of the average man as that of the average woman, and with even less justification; and I am sure that when men and women come to their senses and are able to separate the things that are essential from the things that are non-essential in life, they will go back to the understanding that there is no form of happiness on the earth, no form of success of any kind, that in any way approaches the happiness of the husband and the wife who are married lovers and the father and mother of plenty of healthy children. No other form of success—political, literary, artistic, commercial—in any way approaches the kind of success open to most men and most women, the success of the man in making a home and of the woman in keeping it, the success of both in dwelling therein with mutual love, respect, and forbearance, and in bringing up as they should be brought up the children who bless and make holy the home.

No partnership of happiness can ever be such unless it is also a partnership of work; and in this life it is rare indeed that success and happiness come save as the result of willingness to run risk and to face danger as well as work. But woe to the small souls who shrink from facing the great adventure! Shame to those who choose to lead their lives in a round of cheap self-indulgence and vapid excitement! They shall end in the gray twilight which has known neither victory nor defeat, and which therefore means the worst of all possible kinds of defeat, the defeat that comes to those who have not dared to try to win the battle. In the partnership of man and woman the woman risks most, and for that reason we should hold in peculiar abhorrence the man who fails to realize this and to be gentle and tender and loyal in his dealings with her. The birth pangs make all men the debtors of all women; and those men have indeed touched the lowest abyss of brutality and depravity who do not recognize something holy in the names of wife and mother. No man, not even the soldier who does his duty, stands quite on the level with the wife and mother who has done her duty.

I do not believe that there is identity of duties as between man and woman, and I do believe that it is far more important for both to dwell upon their duties than their rights. But I also believe in a full equality of rights; if women wish to vote, I favor it (although I do not think it anything like as important for them or for the State as are many other things that they can and should do); but the extent of my reverence for and belief in a woman who does her duty measures also the depth of my contempt for the woman who shirks her primal and most essential duty. The man who either is responsible for, or acquiesces in, sterility in marriage is even more contemptible than the woman; but he is the only person more contemptible. Exactly as the measure of our regard for the soldier who does his full duty in battle is the measure of our scorn for the coward who flees, so the measure of our respect for the true wife and mother is the measure of our scorn and contemptuous abhorrence for the wife who refuses to be a mother.

There are plenty of good men and good women whom Providence for inscrutable reasons has denied the greatest of all happiness, the happiness of having children. For these we feel the same profound and respectful sympathy that we feel for the honest, hard-working man in civil life who meets with unmerited misfortune, and for the soldier who is killed in battle, or who is prevented from going to war by some crippling accident which puts an end to all his ambitions, all his dreams of valorous achievement. Moreover, there are men and women who, for

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adequate reason, remain unmarried. I do not speak of these; it is no fault of theirs, and no virtue of ours, that we and they have not changed positions. I speak only, be it remembered, of those who refuse to marry because of cold selfishness or vapid love of ease or for other unworthy motive, and of those who in marriage are guilty of willful sterility.

Most great results, for good or evil, are due, not to any single cause, but to a tissue of causation. There are doubtless many causes which have combined to bring about the condition of affairs so alarming in Great Britain, in America, and in Australia. Disproportionate love of luxury and of comfort is one. I do not mean absolute comfort or absolute luxury, for it would be hard to define either in certain terms; and I have seen men and women complete slaves to self-indulgence in squalid cabins, just as I have seen them such slaves in great, roomy, comfortable houses. It is not the having comfort or enjoying rational luxury which is the trouble at all; it is putting an improper and disproportionate value upon it as compared with other things more important. So I do not believe that, in itself, the growth of independence among women has anything to do with the trouble. By law and custom the Frenchwoman stands towards the man in a wholly subordinate and inferior position compared with the American woman, and yet it is in France that the evil has had its worst development; and there this development began before the causes which we are apt to describe as sufficient to account for it had operated to any extent. Any growth of freedom, whether of man or of woman, whether it takes the shape of the spread of democracy among men or the spread of liberty among women, is apt at first to be accompanied by vagaries of license, the recipients of the new liberty tending to abuse it, until they have become sufficiently accustomed to it to know just what it is worth, and to appreciate that it brings even more of responsibility than of privilege (and if they do not appreciate this they will speedily lose it again). There are American women who, in the thirst for their rights, forget their duties; but there are just as many American men who are guilty of the same offense. The majority of both men and women will, I believe, either keep or regain their poise, and their sense of proportion.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood, unless willfully. I no more mean that a man and a woman are good citizens merely because they have children than I mean that a man is a good soldier merely because he can fight. In each case the possession of one essential quality does not atone for the lack of other qualities which are only less essential. Criminals should not have children. Shiftless and worthless people should not marry and have families which they are unable to bring up properly. Such marriages are a curse to the community. But this is only the negative side of the matter; and the positive is always more important than the negative. In our civilization to-day the great danger is that there will be failure to have enough children of the marriages that ought to take place. What we most need is insistence upon the duty of decent people to have enough children, and the sternest condemnation of the practices commonly resorted to in order to secure sterility. Unless the average man marries and has children, then, whatever the nation, its average man is a poor citizen, and the nation is doomed. But of course I do not for a moment mean that sterility is the only vice or fertility the only virtue. A great many qualities are necessary to make a man or a woman a good citizen, just as a great many qualities are necessary to make a man a good soldier; and when I point out the fact that one quality is absolutely essential, I do not mean that it is all-sufficient.

We need plenty of books like that of Mr. Beale, the Australian writer, which is before me. One of the things he points out to which heed should be paid is the profound and lasting damage unwittingly done by Malthus and, to a less extent, by John Stuart Mill. As we study the far-reaching harm due in some degree to the teachings of these men of high intellect and worthy purpose, we should feel chastened and humbled, and should realize very keenly how often the wisdom of the wisest turns out to be folly.

Our appeal must be not only to the intellect and the reason; it must be to the

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heart and the conscience. In this great fundamental matter, vital to the life of the whole Nation, our appeal must be to the plain people, to the average man and the average woman; and fundamentally it must be an appeal to character, an earnest prayer that in the souls of all of us the sense of duty may grow and not dwindle, and may be guided by wisdom and inspired by courage. We honor the good man and the good woman who do their duty; and, above all others, we honor the wife and mother, for she is the high priestess of the race, who bears in her strong and tender arms the burden of the destinies of mankind.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE TRUTH ABOUT "K"

In The Outlook of March 25 there appeared an illustrated advertisement entitled "The Truth About 'K.'" It was paid for at the regular advertising rates of The Outlook by the American Woolen Company. Its appearance in The Outlook has elicited some criticism on two grounds: first, that its typographical form was of a nature to give the impression to some people that it was an article forming a part of the regular literary and editorial contents of The Outlook; second, that the woolen schedule in the Payne Tariff Bill is so objectionable that The Outlook ought not to permit its supporters to defend it in any way, shape, or manner, either editorially or in an advertisement, in the pages of this journal. The first question is one of detail. It can hardly be necessary to say that no amount of money can buy an editorial expression of opinion from The Outlook nor pay for the insertion of any kind of an article, short or long, in its pages of reading matter. The advertisement in question was headed "Publisher's Department" on every page in a fashion so prominent that it seemed to us perfectly manifest that it was clearly set apart from what is technically known as "reading matter," and was included among the business announcements or advertisements of the paper. This title has been used by The Outlook for similar advertising for twenty years. The second criticism is something more than a detail, and involves an important principle. In accordance with this principle we believe that the American Woolen Company was entirely justified in printing their article as an advertisement, and we insist that The Outlook violated in no degree the "ethics of journalism" in admitting the advertisement to its pages.

The Outlook in the administration of its business does three things:

1. It expresses in its editorial columns its own views on current questions freely and without regard to the effect that these views will have upon its business or upon its popularity. This policy seems to us to be the only one by which a newspaper can hope to command the permanent respect of the community.

2. The Outlook publishes in its contributed columns the most authoritative articles that it can secure on current questions, but does not attempt to control the opinions expressed by its contributors. In fact, it publishes many articles that differ entirely from The Outlook's own editorial opinion. There are two sides to every public question, and The Outlook is always glad to present fairly the view of those who disagree with it or oppose policies which it supports.

3. The Outlook welcomes to its advertising columns the advertisements of reputable concerns who wish to buy space either to sell their goods or to present facts and arguments on commercial questions. If the advertisements are reliable and are properly presented, The Outlook does not insist that they shall agree with its own editorial views.

The advertisement of the American Woolen Company entitled "The Truth About 'K'" falls under the third head. The editors of The Outlook believe that Schedule K, or what is popularly known as the Woolen Schedule, of the Payne Tariff Law is open to very serious criticism. It believes with President Taft that Schedule K needs careful revision. It has constantly and consistently advocated the policy of revising the tariff schedule by schedule in order that such a schedule as Schedule K may be discussed throughout the country and in Congress by itself. It does not believe that Sched-

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ule K in its present form has contributed to the general welfare of the country, and it doubts whether it has contributed to the general welfare of the woolen industry. The officers of the American Woolen Company, however, entertain contrary views. They are entitled to get those views before the country, and we think it is perfectly legitimate for them to announce these views in paid-for advertisements, provided they do not use those advertisements as a means of attempting to control the editorial opinions of the journals in which they appear. So far as we know, the American Woolen Company has made no such attempt to stifle the free expression of editorial opinion. It certainly has not with The Outlook. In our dealings with the American Woolen Company we have found them free, frank, and aboveboard. In the advertisement entitled "The Truth About 'K'" the American Woolen Company have not rested their case in merely making assertions, but they openly printed criticisms upon the schedule and then attempted to answer those criticisms by intelligent arguments. For opponents of Schedule K to attack that schedule and then to forbid the interests involved to make any kind of a reply would, in our judgment, be the rankest kind of injustice. The new Congress is likely to take up the woolen schedule. We think it is of advantage to the country that it should have all the facts before it, *pro* and *con*, and we advise everybody who is interested in the matter to read the arguments of the American Woolen Company, and then, if they do not agree with them, to find out what are the strongest arguments on the other side.

We close the matter by saying that as long as the American Woolen Company pays its bills and presents its claims in as reputable and intelligent a form as it has in the advertisement to which we have been referring, it may have access to the advertising pages of The Outlook in every issue if it chooses, and we shall defend its right to do so and our right to accept these advertisements with as much vigor as we shall defend the rights of the American people to revise Schedule K in the interests of the general public welfare.

THE VISION OF PEACE

For centuries men and women of the highest order of mind have seen the vision of peace. It is still a vision; but it has always been prophetic, and to-day it draws nearer, becomes more distinct, and lifts up the hearts of those who care for humanity as they have not been lifted up for generations. There are many obstacles in the way. It will be perhaps a long time before the horrors of war will be relegated to collections of old armor and weapons, and before the crushing burdens of war will be lifted from the shoulders that have long bent under them. But peace draws on apace; and there is nothing that gives more convincing evidence that the vision of the past may become a reality of the not remote future than the response which Sir Edward Grey's comment on President Taft's proposal of a treaty of universal arbitration between the two Governments has evoked, not only from the leaders of English opinion, but from the English people. The English pulpit within the Church of England and among the Nonconformists has responded with a promptness and enthusiasm which show how quick and deep is the eagerness in that country to put out of the way forever the possibility of any future conflict among peoples of the English-speaking races. This response has been so emphatic that it has awakened a similar response from the churches on this side of the ocean, as shown in the call issued by the Federal Council of Churches to devote last Sunday to the cause of arbitration. The Bishop of Southwark, preaching in the venerable church associated with Shakespeare in the very heart of London, declared that "the suggestion borne over the Atlantic from a man who held the highest place and power had been received by the coolest and most reticent of British statesmen in words whose vibrant powers and feeling had reached even those who had not heard them, and had called forth an answer from the nation's heart to seize the opportunity for using England's vast resources for greater things than defense."

Bishop Talbot touched one of the greatest motives for peace—the liberation for constructive purposes of the immense

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force now expended in war. It is difficult to set limits to the power of moral, spiritual, and material reclamation and conservation which the Governments could carry on if they were free to spend in peace the enormous sums they are now spending in preparation for war.

Three books have recently appeared which cover various aspects of the endeavor to reduce armaments and abolish war. They appear at a fortunate moment, and form a not unimportant contribution to a discussion second in importance to none now going on in the Western world.

These three books agree in condemning war because it destroys life and because it destroys wealth. Mr. Angell[1] says that in the economically civilized world wealth is founded on credit and commercial contract, and that if these are threatened with confiscation by a conqueror, not only does the credit-dependent wealth vanish, but it may also drag the conqueror down. Suppose a war should break out between Germany and England and the German army should raid the Bank of England, Berlin financiers as well as London financiers would be thrown into panic; for, even if she conquered, Germany could really gain nothing commercially; Germany would only injure her own customer and impoverish herself. In other words, economically speaking, one nation's "credit and commercial contract" cannot be destroyed by another nation unless both victor and vanquished are to be dragged down to economic ruin. Mr. Angell gives the following apt illustration of credit:

> Some years ago the bank in a Western mining town was frequently subjected to "hold-ups," because it was known that the great mining company owning the town kept large quantities of gold there for the payment of its workmen. The company, therefore, took to paying its wages mainly by check on a San Francisco bank, and by a simple system of clearances practically abolished the use of gold in considerable quantities in the mining town in question. The bank was never attacked again. Now, the demonstration that gold had been replaced by books in that bank was as much a work of defense as though the bank had spent tens of thousands of dollars in constructing forts and earthworks and mounting Gatling guns around the town. Of the two methods of defense, that of substituting checks for gold was infinitely cheaper and more effective. The last forty or fifty years of credit development in Europe has done for the states of Europe what the managers did for the bank. Seizable wealth has been replaced by unseizable credit entries. And when all that this fact involves becomes thoroughly realized, there will be as little need for Europe's elaborate defense as there was for any elaborate defense of the Western bank when the check system was introduced.

There is no such thing, declares Mr. Angell, as gaining a nation's wealth and markets by conquest, for the land, the property, and the markets will persist in the ownership of the people who have been conquered, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, for instance. We cannot wholly accept Mr. Angell's statement that an indemnity is paid as much by the conqueror as by the defeated nation, although it is true that Germany did pay a large share of the indemnity exacted from France as a result of the Franco-German War a generation ago. These economic situations arise because the relations of nations respecting trade and finance have become increasingly interdependent and proportionately influential in checking war. A force, however, not always appreciated is pointed out by Mr. Angell when he notes that in the world of finance some comparatively small military nations are really stronger than those heavily armed, as may be seen by comparing the market value of investment securities, indicating that Belgium is really stronger than Germany, Norway than Russia.

But there is a psychological as well as a physical side to war and to the effort to end it. We are always hearing that war rouses dormant nations, regenerates corrupted peoples, and that if it were not for war the virtues of courage, heroism, self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty would be practically lost. If these things are true, war ought to be an end in itself, but it is not. It has always been a means, not an end, says the Russian writer Novicow;[1] to which Mr. Angell adds that warfare does not always make for the survival of the fittest or the most virile, and that the struggle between nations really

[1] The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to their Economic and Social Advantage. By Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

[1] War and its Alleged Benefits. By J. Novicow. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.

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forms no part of the evolutionary law of man's advance. Mr. Angell also makes short work of the old saw, "Human nature does not change." The work of the world rests on courage, devotion, self-sacrifice, and these virtues would not be lost even if the military profession became extinct. These virtues, writes General Chittenden,[1] a soldier, will remain because they "are part and parcel of man's higher nature;" it is the "vices of militarism that will pass with the passing of war."

The antithesis of war is peace. How shall we hasten its coming? Disarm? But individual disarmament is impracticable, and a general disarmament cannot be obtained at once, no matter how many peace societies demand it. General Chittenden's book brings out what we believe to be a very real distinction hitherto inadequately emphasized, namely, that a man may hunger for justice and righteousness and peace and still believe it to be his duty to favor for the time being the increase rather than the decrease of his nation's armament. General Chittenden also refers to certain practical measures to be taken at the present time by those who realize that we have not yet come into an ideal state of society. Take our volunteer soldiery, for instance, the popular confidence in which is touching. Some time ago a United States Senator declared that "if any nation attacked us, three million armed men would instantly rise to the defense of their country." "Armed with what?" asks General Chittenden. Again, take the case of the Panama Canal. A number of eminent counselors would have us leave that waterway, built with our money and by our genius, to be the prey of the first nation attempting to disregard international treaties. General Chittenden says: "We should fortify the Canal, first, because it belongs to our system of National defense, and, second, we would thus enforce neutrality as to other nations." The two divergent sets of counselors were differentiated in the recent naval debate, in which those who advocated the one-battleship policy considered themselves the only ones on the side of a peace policy! Yet a two-battle-ship advocate might equally have been an advocate of that policy. For, as President Taft said four years ago, "the voice of the United States in favor of international justice is much more mighty when it is known to have a good navy and a good army to enforce its views and defend its rights."

Thus our Government must follow two coincident policies: a prudent provision against possible danger, and the strengthening of our position as a power for peace.

For peace will one day be brought about, not by disarmament, for which no nation is ready, but by the spread of ideas pointing towards a general federation of the nations, for which they are all ready. We do not realize the progress of the tendency in society at large to classify itself by interests rather than by State divisions. Thus the modern State is losing its homogeneity. These things are making rapidly for the disappearance of international rivalries, and this tendency will be utilized to solve the present armament difficulty and to bring about justice and peace.

But there is a more immediate check to war—arbitration. We already have it in a hundred arbitral treaties entered into between the nations, two and two, and covering many subjects of dispute. These treaties have done much to check war. But universal arbitral treaties could do more. In three notable instances agreements have been ratified that cover all topics of dispute—the treaties between Norway and Sweden, Belgium and Holland, Argentina and Chili. A similar form of treaty was suggested a year ago before the American Peace and Arbitration Society, when President Taft said:

> I have noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties as to references to questions of honor—of national honor—to courts of arbitration. Personally, I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship.

Later, before the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Mr. Taft said:

> If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide by the adjudication of an international

[1] War or Peace: A Present Duty and a Future Hope. By Brigadier-General Hiram M. Chittenden. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.

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arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiations, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations, at least, to establish, as between them, the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government.

These are statements both bold and wise. It is reasonable to hope that they will lead to the ultimate realization of permanent international peace. For with the establishment of treaties of obligatory arbitration and an International Court of Arbitral Justice, the lessening of armaments must necessarily and naturally follow.

SAVED BY HOPE

On another page we give an account of the foreign missionary meetings which culminated last week in New York City. It is evident from this account that the Eternal Hope has not cut the nerve of missions.

Fifty years ago belief that the pagan world was going down into an eternal hell because the pagans had not accepted a Christ of whom they had never heard was current in the orthodox churches. This belief was used to excite missionary interest; and, not unnaturally, many good people sincerely believed that the preaching of the Eternal Hope would destroy that interest. The reverse has been the case. Hope has proved a more powerful motive than fear. Paul's declaration that we are saved by hope has taken on a new significance. Acceptance of the Psalmist's doctrine that the mercy of God endureth forever has inspired God's children with the spirit of mercy. Never in the history of the Church has missionary interest been wider or missionary activity more intense than during the last half-century, and this widening of interest and this intensity of activity have progressed with the progress of the doctrine of the eternal mercy of God and eternal hope for his children.

Another cause has also contributed to this increase of missionary interest. Jesus Christ came preaching that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. He bade his disciples pray that this kingdom might come on earth as in heaven. He defined his own mission in the declaration that he was sent to preach glad tidings to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty those who are bruised by oppression. He said very little about a future heaven, and still less about a future hell. He said much about the duty of men to make this world a better and a happier world by bringing it into harmony with the Father, of whom every family in heaven and on earth is named. Within the last fifty years Christian mission activity has gone back from mediævalism to this primitive Christianity. It has become less theological and more practical and philanthropic; it has concerned itself more with present-day conditions. It has established hospitals, organized schools, promoted industries, purified homes. Its fruits have been more visible. It was possible last week, in the missionary pageant, to portray some of those fruits upon the stage where the audience might see them. They will be portrayed more fully next month in the great missionary exhibit that is to take place in Boston, and is afterwards, we believe, to be transferred to other cities. These fruits appeal to the sight as well as to faith.

The result has proved that there are a great many men and women who are interested in promoting present-day welfare for the poor, the suffering, and the oppressed who are not greatly interested in recovering souls from what they regard as a problematical hell and introducing them to what they regard as a problematical heaven. What is sometimes regarded as the secularizing of Christian missions has promoted missionary activity. An unprejudiced study of the teachings of Jesus Christ and his methods will satisfy the unprejudiced that this so-called secularity is a return to his purpose and a revival of his spirit.

In this great missionary movement and its fruitage there is a lesson for all churches and all ministers. The Christianity that helps men to live better lives on the earth, and so promotes their earthly welfare and happiness, is a Christianity that appeals to the average man. It is the Christianity of Jesus Christ.

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A LENTEN THOUGHT

THE SECOND BIRTH

In the desert of his temptation the Christ was alone; no human companionship kept him company in his hour of trial, and it was not until the peril was passed that angels ministered to him. He was born into this human life at Nazareth; thirty years later he was born into the consciousness of his power and his mission in the silence and solitude of a lonely place.

About the first birth a great and affectionate solicitude centers and the spirit comes into a world made warm and homelike by the love that precedes and makes ready for it. The second birth into knowledge of self and of one's place and work among men takes place in silence and loneliness. On both births pain waits, for without pain the secret of life is never disclosed, and the growth, which is the fulfillment of life, is never accomplished; the mother bears the agony of birth for the child, the child bears the agony of birth for his spirit; for the birth pang is part of every coming into light and life.

In the tumult of the senses when the world pours in upon the young spirit in a great tide of impressions and discoveries many things are revealed, and many wonderful sights and sounds sink deep into the consciousness of the child as it runs eager and thoughtless with its fellows at play. In the rush of action and the turmoil of the awakening energies, putting their earliest strength into the struggle of life, knowledge comes flooding in through a thousand channels; but the knowledge of self, brought to clear consciousness by the discovery of the world and the pouring out of energy and power in action, comes to the spirit in silence and solitude.

For every man who is born into spiritual consciousness and freedom the way lies through loneliness. It is true, there are many who never pass through the lonely place, but they never pass through deep and vital experience to the full stature of spiritual manhood and womanhood. They are always children who have been born into this world but have never been born out of it, or they have so blighted their power of growth that they have stopped half-way in the fulfillment of their lives. To such as these the story of the temptation of the Christ is unintelligible, as are the stories of the conversion of St. Augustine and of the army of saints who, through pain and tribulation, have come to the knowledge of the world and of themselves, and have been born into citizenship in the Kingdom of God.

Throughout the whole range of the experience of men in contact with God, of which the Old and New Testaments are matchless records, the Infinite always reveals himself in silence. In the most impressive manifestations of power it was the still, small voice that spoke with final authority; out of the tumult of action the prophet, who went before the Christ and for many centuries foreshadowed his coming, went into the lonely place to meet God and be born again into the knowledge of his purposes. The desert and solitary place are not more sacred than the city square or the crowded street; but they are symbols of the solitude in which the tumult of the senses and of the activities have died into a silence in which the divine voice becomes audible, and a man comes into such possession of himself that he can surrender himself to God.

In the noise of the tremendous activities of this day of large opportunity, setting all human energies at work, there is often desperate need of silence; in great sorrows and under the pressure of burdens which cut into the flesh silence brings no escape, but it may bring the strength which suffers and is strong:

"Stand upright in the silence, soul, to bear
Thy burden undismayed; cry not
It is too heavy; take of thy great share
Of the world's great anguish as thy lot,
Predestined from the dawn of days: so fill
Thy veins with fortitude; accept; be still."

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IS DEMOCRACY A FAILURE?

ANOTHER PLAIN TALE FROM CHICAGO[1]

BY C. NORMAN FAY

IN the early days of the telephone industry, when for my sins I was compelled to know something of the personnel of the Illinois Assembly, there lived a statesman down Peoria way, whose name—such is fame—I now forget, who built him a nice new house. "My!" said a neighbor in deep admiration, "but that is an expensive house!" "You bet," replied the Solon; "there's lots of Ayes and Noes in *that* house."

That was standard American humor then, and raised many a laugh about the Capitol at Springfield. A year or two later I tried to enlist some of my colleagues in other Chicago public service companies in defeating for re-election a particularly obnoxious local grafter. "My dear boy," said one veteran to me, "go ahead and try it; you have my blessing. I will even contribute a little, if you will not use my name. But you will accomplish nothing. You might as well tackle the rock of Gibraltar as that man in his own ward. The American people *like* grafters; they are all grafters themselves at heart, essentially dishonest, lazy, and careless of their civic duties. Look at the shifting hordes of cheap politicians that they send year after year to the Legislature, the city councils, even to Congress, always changing but always grafting; the idle, incompetent, and dishonest employees, drawing double pay for half work, now Democrats and now Republicans, but never any good; the vice-protecting police, the 'fixed' juries, the bungling legislation, the weak administration, the stinking corruption turned up all over the land from Atlantic to Pacific, wherever one strikes in the pick of investigation. Do you suppose the people would choose such governors if they did not like them? A representative government *must* fairly represent the mind and morals of the average citizen; a mind too small for the large affairs of the community, and morals too easy for its healthful control. No—democracy is a failure! The fountain cannot rise higher than its source."

These melancholy tales are vital yet. The Ayes and Noes merchants are still in business at the old stand, under the style of "Jackpotter, Bathroom Boy & Co.," with important connections at Washington. They do not seem so humorous now, and the country is in deadly earnest, from Maine to California, to sweep them and their kind from the face of the earth. But *how?*

Our fighters for better things, in and out of office, except here and there a short-ballot man, seem to agree with my cynic friend above quoted, that we Americans are all grafters at heart. At the top, they say, our great constructive business and professional men are actuated in public matters mainly by greed. At the bottom, down there next the people, politics is dirty work, to be done by a dirty sort of good fellow, beloved of the crowd, "out for the stuff," dishonest and untrustworthy in office, but with us to stay. We must accept *him;* popular government means party government, and he is the bone and sinew of the party. There will always be crooked business and crooked politics; the remedy lies in coercion. We must smash big business, drive the interests out of politics, go for the man higher up; then there will be no one to bribe the "boys." We must hobble the latter with laws and scare them with penalties, until they, too, will be good, because they have to be. So are we taught the noble gospels of distrust and intimidation—forces that never helped the world in all its history—for our industries, our politics, for free government itself!

I am but one of many, I hope, who rebel against such feeble yet destructive doctrines. I hold that the partial breakdown of our democracy, our government by the unfit, our riot of graft and special privilege, is clearly due, not to universal

[1] Previous "Plain Tales" were published in the issues of The Outlook for March 6, 13, and 20, 1909, June 19, 1909, and January 22, 1910.

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depravity, but to what might be called cumulative mechanical difficulties, which we can ascertain and remove, just as a modern production engineer remedies the troubles in a demoralized factory. I venture, therefore, to contribute to the literature of the subject a brief study of existing conditions in my own great city, as a pointer toward what seem to me better factory methods in the good-government industry.

Good government is like good organization of every kind, mainly a question of good men; of sound principles too, of course, but good men usually stand for sound principles. Now, our whole history shows that whenever a great moral crisis has arisen, when the issue has been clearly made up and thoroughly thrashed out, so that the brain and conscience of the average American has tried the case, and there remains what Lowell calls the "clarified residuum of thought," he has in ballot and in battle stuck to the right, and picked the *men* fittest to enforce it. In every-day life, too, when he wants steady work at fair wages, pure food and good clothing at fair prices, or sound insurance on life or property, when he would deposit his savings in a safe bank, or vote as a stockholder for directors who shall guard his invested earnings, again he turns instinctively and constantly to the largest employer, the greatest merchant, the soundest insurer, the richest banker; in short, to the man most conspicuous for trustworthiness in his community.

Why, then, on election day alone of all the year, when there is no crisis and life flows humdrum along, when he must quietly choose those who are to save or squander his taxes, purify or poison the air he breathes and the water he drinks, clean or leave filthy the street he lives in, suppress or foster vice and crime next door; who are to control the protection of his life and property, the education of his children, the care of his sick, the spread of contagion, the enactment of law, and the administration of justice—in short, the most intimate and vital concerns of his daily life—why does he suddenly seem bereft of every shred of sound principle and common sense, and, forsaking all precedent, deem no reputation too bad, no education too defective, no brain too dull, no experience too limited, no character too vicious, no shyster too notorious, no grafter too hungry, in short, no professional politician too rank, if "regularly nominated," to be trusted with the party honor and the immense material interests of the people? Why, indeed!

Simply because he has no choice. In our cities, where most of our grafters breed, under present conditions *there are bound to be few candidates except of the baser sort.* Let us consider, for instance, Chicago.

The city of Chicago and county of Cook, substantially one body of taxpayers or citizens, contains about 440,000 voters. We have a spring or city election every year, and a fall or State and National election every other year, with judicial and other elections from time to time, held in each of 1,448 polling-places, each manned inside and out by five or six workers of each party. Each election is preceded by 1,448 primaries, held by each principal party, with perhaps a smaller number for the weaker parties. These primaries must be manned by at least five workers each, and they nominate workers for no less than 331 elective offices during each cycle of four years, namely, 27 Presidential electors, 185 members of Congress, State Legislature, County Board, City Council, and Sanitary Board, and 119 executive, administrative, and judicial officers.

To sum up, for each election in Chicago are required the services of 15,000 to 20,000 primary workers, and about the same number of workers at the polls. Many of these doubtless serve in both capacities, but many do not; and besides them are the lieutenants, captains, and generals of this great army. It is probably safe to say that six times or more in each four years some 25,000 working politicians of the various parties for five or six weeks about election time must give continuous, and at other times must give frequent, attention to the colossal task of keeping in touch with the voters, and of organizing and getting to the polls some 440,000 men who ordinarily take little interest in going there.

Now the average man cannot with justice to his regular vocation give the time indicated above to politics; but without doing so he cannot hope, under present

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conditions, to become an effective cog in a great party machine. The common phrase, "He got into politics and neglected his business," expresses the situation perfectly. Occasionally an exceptionally active and unselfish man, like George E. Cole or Walter Fisher, successfully runs business and politics too. But most of us must attend to, and live by, our business; and just so most of those who give their lives to politics must live by politics.

Therefore, so long as Chicago imposes upon her immense voting constituencies a sort of continuous vaudeville of elections, so long must she create and pay for the 25,000-politician-power machines to grind them out.

Furthermore, local politics are uninteresting. It is but once or so in a decade that a live issue, like Prohibition or Traction, is injected into a State or municipal campaign. The great parties usually manage once in four years to scare up some sort of an issue for the Presidential campaign, upon which we can all warm up; but in the off years the fight is merely whether some machine-nominated Democrats shall oust some machine-elected Republicans from petty offices, draw their salaries and touch their graft, or *vice versa*. What is there in all this for the average voter? Nothing whatever.

Last and saddest, *no very high-grade, very able, very successful man—the very man most needed in the momentous concerns of the cities—will run for local office, cheap and nasty, and limited, as it is bound to be, by reason of machine power and ward lines.*

I once asked the late Marshall Field, who just then was mentioned as a possible Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency and was laughing away the idea, whether he would accept any public office. "Yes, one," he replied. "I would serve as alderman of Chicago, provided that I could be one of a working majority of my own kind, elected for a term, say, of five years, long enough to accomplish something. I could name five men who would clean Chicago up, give us a government, and make life here worth living for rich and poor; and for two-thirds our present taxes. *That* would be worth while! But as things are, what would be the use of *my* sitting in that hog-pen every Monday night for two years, listening to Bath-House John pass special ordinances to stick bow-windows and electric-light signs out over the sidewalk?"

There is the situation in a nutshell, here and in most large cities. Who that knew Marshall Field would doubt his ability to clean Chicago up? He was one of the most modest of men, no snob, and, in spite of his enormous fortune, no plutocrat. What he meant by a majority of his own kind was such a one as he was accustomed to work with on the boards of the Steel Corporation and the Northwestern Railway Company; not necessarily millionaires, but men experienced enough and big enough not to waste the time of the Council and the money of the taxpayers puttering with details. Let me illustrate the kind of thing that he referred to.

I picked up at random the other day the proceedings of the Chicago Common Council of April 21, 1902. They covered 143 pages of fine print, and recorded consideration (so called) of no less than 296 different subjects. About one hundred of these were private or special ordinances for erection of signs, barber-poles, scales, bow-windows, etc., contrary to general ordinances. Another lot were for petty claims and rebates. A third large batch were ordinances for paving specific streets and alleys, with detailed paving specifications; and for water mains and service pipes, with specifications again. Undoubtedly all had been through committee; but only eight or ten of all these 296 documents, which the record avers were received, filed, referred, considered, amended, passed, or defeated in a session of about three hours, were such as would ever have come before the board of directors of any large corporation at all.

But what better can be expected of controlling majorities chosen, not for experience in large affairs, but because each member lives in a given ward, and perhaps obeys a certain boss? There are thirty-five wards in Chicago, sending seventy members to its Council. Marshall Field could easily have found five hundred men of his kind in the eight "silk-stocking" wards, but he could hardly have found five in the remaining twenty-

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seven. As a matter of fact, men of successful experience and ability large enough to do justice to public affairs will seldom live and bring up their families in the poorer wards. *Consequently, thanks to ward lines and party machines, our city councils and the powerful city delegations to our legislatures are mainly composed of men mentally, and often morally, ill equipped for their great duties; and these men elect our Senators of the United States.*

The situation demands, it seems to me, something in addition to the remedial measures commonly proposed. If there must be primaries, they should be direct; but what is there in direct primaries to enable Marshall Field and his kind to cross ward lines and take control of our councils? If our representatives must be dishonest, it were as well to hold over them *in terrorem* the initiative, referendum, and recall; but what is there in those measures to attract *eminent* men into public life, or to coerce them after entering it? Is it constructive common sense to go on electing the unfit, trusting to tie their hands from mischief—or should we go to the bottom of things at the outset by electing the most fit, and giving them power to act?

That bottom of things lies in our great cities. Ever since I can remember, the bulk of the deviltry at Springfield, as well as in their city councils, has been put through by the machine gangs from Chicago, Peoria, and East St. Louis. So it is at the other State Capitols, judging from press reports.

But let us turn from our failures, shift the film, and throw upon the screen the pictures of some of our democratic successes. I refer to our great corporations; which, as we admit by our very fear and distrust of their growth and power, have solved in the largest way the problem of honest government *by* the stockholders and *for* the stockholders. That way, which should, I think, be ours in politics, is to make even local elective office so distinguished as to become the ambition of the ablest and most trustworthy men; which of itself will make it practically unattainable by any other sort.

The Steel Corporation has gross revenues about the size of those of the Government of the United States, say $700,000,000 per annum. It has 95,000 owners and 223,000 servants, of whom 22,000 are also owners. The New York Central Railroad has revenues larger than those of the city and State of New York. It has 20,000 owners and 63,000 servants. The Pennsylvania Railroad has far larger revenues than the State of Pennsylvania plus the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. It has 50,000 owners and 192,000 servants. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway has revenues just about equal to those of Chicago and Cook County. It has 8,200 owners and 47,000 servants. There are fifty or more other great corporations whose business is greater than that of the other States of the Union, taken singly, plus their principal cities. I use business (or revenues) for comparison, because government for the most part is business, and is judged by cost and results; and, especially for the purpose of this discussion, because *graft* comes in mainly on the business side of government.

These corporations, as great as our commonwealth in affairs, are democracies, and offer opportunities for misgovernment and graft equal to those of political democracies; yet, whatever high crimes and misdemeanors against the public they are charged with, their directors are seldom accused of betraying those who elect them. Once in a while an embezzling or grafting officer is unearthed (and kills himself); very rarely a "frenzied financier" rigs the market against stockholders and public alike; occasionally special interests sway corporation councils; but, broadly speaking, there are fifty Vanderbilts, Cassatts, and Hughitts to one Gould, and a hundred honorable captains of industry to one financial pirate. These big but trustworthy men are *elected* by democratic Americans—Americans as genuine as those who elect to political office a lot of incompetent grafters. The student of this anomaly must therefore attribute the comparatively overwhelming success in good government of business as compared to political democracy, not in the main to better electors, but to better methods of election and sounder principles of administrative organization. These I will briefly consider for the sake of contrast.

Once a year the secretary of each

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corporation mails to each stockholder a notice of an annual meeting for the election of a board of directors, with a blank proxy. Those who desire to be elected directors nominate themselves by the simple process of soliciting proxies, personally attend the meeting, vote the proxies obtained, and those who receive a sufficient number of votes are declared elected.

The whole proceeding takes a few hours. The newly elected board usually meets at once upon adjournment of the stockholders' meeting, elects a president, secretary, and treasurer, and an executive committee, and then adjourns.

After that the board of directors meets usually but once a month. The executive committee meets oftener. The board deals only with the largest matters of finance and policy, leaving details to the president and executive committee.

As a rule, the same board is re-elected and the same officers are reappointed by the board year after year. The thousands of subordinate employees never know that an election has taken place; the business flows along uninterrupted, transacted by the same skilled hands that have done it for years. The directors are seldom paid, except a nominal fee for each meeting attended; but serve for the distinction attached to their office.

Underlying all are the tried and effective principles of business democracy—simplicity and continuity of organization; concentration of power and responsibility in few and able hands; unhesitating trust of details to those whose business they are.

But in politics we have inherited from our New England ancestors the exact antitheses of the foregoing principles—an intense *distrust* of government, a sort of frenzied freedom, as Lawson would say, which might be summarized as follows: "Each village for itself; no centralized power. Any man is fit for any office, with a right to his turn at it. No permanent bureaucracy; elect every rascally official, and only for a year. Turn him out before he can do much mischief. Check and balance him meantime; *never* trust him."

For more than a century we have logically followed out these cowardly, demoralizing, inefficient principles, with more and more disastrous results as our communities grow greater. Hence our amazing tangle of constitutions and charters, elective executives, elective underlings, elective judiciary, bicameral elective legislatures, checks and balances, vetoes and pardons, boards and commissions; our constant attempt to give power with one hand and take it away with the other. Hence our crazy-quilt of overlapping constituencies—village, town, county, city, and State; our maze of elections, conventions, primaries, and pre-primaries; our party machines, State, county, ward, and precinct committees; our bosses large, henchmen middle-sized, and workers small; our colonies and cultures, our microbes and bacteria of political gangrene! And still, not satisfied with Pelions of mischief, we would pile on Ossas of remedy: good government leagues, voters' leagues, civil service leagues, committees of one hundred, of ten, of seven, minority representation, direct primaries, corrupt practices acts, etc., down to the latest scheme to boss the bosses, the biggest stick for their stubborn backs—the initiative, referendum, and recall.

Reader, has it never occurred to you that for the last century, right in and beside our great, clumsy, stupid, boss-ridden, plundered cities and States, our corporations have well and wisely managed their even larger affairs absolutely without all this colossal complication, by electing only their boards of directors; and as members of those boards only men who can be trusted; and, once elected, trusting them? What do you think would happen were these methods applied to State and local politics in something like the following fashion:

Abandon all executive, administrative, and judicial elections; elect nothing but the State and local legislative bodies: small, single-chambered, preferably unpaid, elected at large, for long terms (say four years); subject to the recall and, if you choose, to initiative and referendum. Let these legislative bodies appoint and remove the responsible executives (mayors and governors), who, like corporation presidents, shall appoint all administrative officers and employees with civil service tenure; and all judicial officers, removable

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only on charges sustained by the legislative bodies. Establish a system of retiring pensions and the equivalent of corporation salaries, for all positions. Increase the importance and dignity of the local bodies, and simplify local government by consolidating counties, cities, towns, and villages tributary to natural commercial and railway centers into single governmental units, each under a small chamber as above.

Separate local, State, and National issues by holding the respective elections in different years.

Divide the consolidated units into voting districts of considerable and approximately equal size, say, of 25,000 voters each. Redivide from time to time as population grows.

Create a Bureau of Census and Elections, with a general office at the capital and a branch in each voting district, which shall make and maintain a complete, current street and alphabetical card index of the entire district population; also a house-to-house registration of voters, with a sample signature card, such as used in banks, for each voter. (This bureau might well keep the school, vagrant, and criminal census, and co-operate for accuracy and economy with the post-office and directory authorities.) Make the office of the bureau the regular registering and polling place, and its staff the regular registering and polling officers, for each voting district; and keep it open, to prevent congestion, say, from noon to 10 P.M. for twenty-five consecutive week days at each election and each registration, handling a given fraction of the vote each day, just as the gas and electric light companies handle their hundreds of thousands of monthly meter readings. (There is no earthly sense in trying to vote 440,000 voters in one day, as we do here now.) Voting-machines might well be used for counting and recording votes as cast, with total vote adding-wheels beneath candidates' names, always visible in the public polling-rooms.

Permit voting by messenger or mail. The bureau to deliver at each voter's home, a reasonable time before voting commences, an official Australian ballot, marked with his name and address and identified by a consecutive number, which he can sign and mark at his home or elsewhere, and vote by mail or messenger; or sign and vote without marking, if he wishes to ballot *secretly* (most voters nowadays do not), presenting it at the bureau, and personally using the voting-machine. Each ballot might plainly display its voting date, and might bear a detachable coupon carrying a duplicate list of candidates, which the voter could mark and retain as a record of his vote—a precaution that would insure the counting of his vote if mailed or deposited by messenger. The bureau to verify from the signature card each ballot before counted.

Candidates to nominate themselves by public advertisement, say, two months before delivery of official ballot, in order to give ample time for preparation of the latter, and to acquaint the voters with all the candidates. Each candidate to pay to the bureau a predetermined charge for the expense of putting his name on voting-machines, ballots, etc.

Following out these proposals, in each cycle of four years the voter would vote about as follows: In November of the first year, say, for five members of the county board; the second year, for one Congressman; the third year, for, say, fifteen members of the State Legislature; the fourth year, for President of the United States and one Congressman. How simple it looks! Even if there were four or five candidates for each local place, it would still be an easy matter to mark an Australian ballot with first choice; and, if so ordered, with second and third choices.

Well, what would happen were some such plan adopted? The following is my *guess;* I have had no political experience.

To be one of five to govern the city, or of fifteen to govern the State, should be attractive to any man. Eminent men of all vocations would stand for office, as independents, if necessary. The parties would have to accept them or nominate equally fit candidates of their own. The chance of election would be so small and the expense so great that mediocrities and unknowns would be unlikely to run. Good candidates, good government, whoever wins. *Verbum sap.*

The parties would persist, of course; but the permanent Election Bureau, with

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few polling-places, would do away with the necessity for the thousands of party workers who now organize primaries and polls; and a permanent civil service would withhold the jobs they are now paid with. They would starve and drop away from the party machines like canker-worms from a stripped elm; and in their stead candidates would probably reach the voters by terse signed statements, printed often throughout the campaign as paid advertising matter in the papers and magazines. One of our leading merchants tells me he would guarantee to reach the 440,000 voters of Chicago as thoroughly as he now reaches their wives for $25,000 to $40,000 per campaign spent in this way. The Cook County Republican campaign fund in the last campaign was about $65,000. New York has over 600,000 voters, and might cost in proportion for advertising $40,000 to $60,000; against $200,000 given by Mr. Herbert Parsons as the cost of orators, mass-meetings, and personal canvass in that city. What a saving of effort, money, and—*buncombe!*

For the voter there would be no "off years." He could dream of clean sweeps for good candidates and simplified issues, and grow enthusiastic. He would find himself always registered, and never lose his vote by change of residence. His official ballot could be delivered to him at his home; and he could study and mark it, and vote it too, at convenience, personally, by messenger or by mail. By marking first, second, and third choices his vote need never be wasted; and it seems to me, on hasty consideration, that by this device party strength might be concentrated on the strongest party candidates *entirely without the nuisance of primaries.*

Come, let us reason together. Have we not outgrown the New England town meeting and the gospel of distrust? Is the Nation not old enough to quit wearing political baby clothes, in which we trip and stumble at every step? Are we not big enough to forget that cowardly envy and fear of the great that delivers us perpetually over to the small? Must representative government forever mean representation by the worst and meanest of us all? Must we keep on building houses out of Ayes and Noes? Do we love Tammanys and Old Guards, Jackpotters and Bathroom Boys?

No, thank God, we do not. The time is ripe to cut out our jungle of politics, that breeds grafters as a swamp breeds mosquitoes. Let us try simpler methods, nobler motives, larger men; the largest men in sight, even if we find some of them in corporation chairs. Let us not drive them from politics; but, on the contrary, make public duty and service seem to them the envied crown of a great private career. Surely the people deserve as able and honest government as the corporations; but they can get it only by electing very able and very honest men. If such men but *desire* election, their ability will secure it; and they will serve the people just as unselfishly as they now serve the corporations, universities, churches, hospitals, charities, social settlements, schools, and missions, which everywhere depend upon them.

Is all this visionary? I think not. I dream of democratic government by the best and wisest of us all—magnates, preachers, financiers, teachers, captains of industry, labor leaders, public servants, lawyers. I imagine a wonderful future, wherein those who have shown power to do the great things, moral and material, demanded by this our mighty day, when they come to the fullness of their prime, shall say to the people, "We have done enough for ourselves; now we offer our ripened abilities to you." And the people shall reply, without envy or distrust, "Well done, good and faithful servants. Ye have been faithful over a few things. We will make you rulers over many things."

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A GIRL AT HEIDELBERG

BY HARRIET BENSON

The writer of the following "human document" is now the wife of a prominent professional man in New York City. From her early girlhood she was interested in philosophy and in art, and was granted the degree of Master of Arts after studying at a prominent Canadian university, having specialized in English, philosophy, and history. She studied in Hanover, Germany, and in Paris, and was the first woman to be admitted to the lectures on philosophy in the course presided over by Professor Kuno Fischer at Heidelberg University, and to take there the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with his approbation. After her return to America she became Dean of Women at a State college in the East, and then was appointed lecturer on the History of Art at a prominent Western university. Since her marriage she has published a number of interesting short articles on art and music in various periodicals, and a volume entitled "A Study of Thoreau." She has just completed a "History of German Painting," which is to be brought out by a New York publisher in 1911.—THE EDITORS.

I CHOSE Heidelberg University out of all the famous centers of study in Germany mainly because of my desire to read philosophy with Professor Kuno Fischer, the famous Kantian scholar and greatest historian of modern philosophy the world has known. I knew that he did not favor women students in the universities—that he objected to their being in his classes—but I did not know that attendance upon them was for a woman absolutely impossible.

On arrival in Heidelberg I went to see Professor Ihne, with whom I had had considerable correspondence. A tall, courtly, white-haired gentleman of almost eighty years, he had been in his own house the tutor of the Grand Duke of York—the present King of England. So, upon the occasion of my visit, since I was an interested British "Colonial," he showed me letters, photographs, gifts of many sorts, from "Edward," "Alexandra," and "George." In my desire to study at Heidelberg he was graciously much interested, and inquired presently as to what I was going to study besides English and German philology, concerning which I had written him. "History of art with Professor Henry Thode and philosophy with Kuno Fischer," I replied. He shook his head. "History of art, yes, tremendous under Thode; but philosophy under Kuno Fischer, impossible! He never admits women. Women of every nationality, of every degree of scholarship, and even fame, have tried it, but he will not let them in." It was a terrible blow. I began to protest. He waved me to silence. "But he will not admit women, that is all; he has stood out against it for twenty-five years. I will give you a card to one of our German women who is at the University, and who lives near here; she will tell you more in detail."

With this card of introduction I called on Fräulein B——, a woman of perhaps forty years of age, and at once opened the subject of which my heart was full. "Professor Ihne has just dealt a crushing blow to my plans," I began. "He says that Kuno Fischer will not admit women." "Oh, no," laughed Fräulein B——, as if it were a jest that I should ever have thought I might be permitted to study with him; then seriously: "Why, every philosophically inclined woman that ever came to Heidelberg has tried it. He sends them off with scant courtesy, I assure you. It annoys him now to have them come near him, so he doesn't even consider it necessary to be polite. You know about the woman who did go into his class? No? She was an American or an English woman, I am not sure now which, but she was very indignant at his ruling. 'Not admit women, indeed!' she protested. 'How can he keep them out? My brothers studied here with him, and were no better qualified than I. I shall go into the class-room and sit down.' So she went into the class-room before a lecture on Pythagoras," continued Fräulein B——, "and sat down in the end seat of about the middle row of benches. You know how it is here; the students must

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all assemble first and await the coming of the professor from his private study. Now Professor Fischer's study is off the hall at the back of the class-room. He came to the door that afternoon, looked over his audience, turned to the 'Bedell' in attendance and said shortly, 'Remove the lady,' then returned to his study until she had left the room."

It looked discouraging, truly; still, that applicant had obviously tried a wrong method. I suppose I looked still unconvinced, for Fräulein B—— suggested: "I will give you a card to an American girl who is studying philology with Professor Hoops; she will tell you more. I think she tried it herself, and she used to be a lecturer in some college somewhere in your big country, I believe." Again I went forth into one of Heidelberg's incessant foggy downpours of rain to seek Miss H——. Her English was no more reassuring than all the German I had just heard. "You may as well give up that notion now," she said, with great positiveness. "Why, you don't understand how it has been! A famous Russian authoress has tried it; only a few months ago he refused the scholarly Madame M——, whose work had been crowned by the French Academy!" I was slight and blonde, and only a very young Canadian girl, and her impatience was so thinly veiled that it was in deepest dejection that I went to my *pension*. It seemed to my young, passionate heart that there was no use in anything since that upon which I had set my intense desire was denied me. Kuno Fischer and his philosophy blotted out the rest of the world for me. Rain and fog helped to embitter my protests as I walked furiously up and down my room. Just because I was a woman! No matter what my intellectual power, my need, my burning desire! No matter what my sacrifices or the consuming, compelling forces within me, driving me onward in spite of friends, in spite of loneliness, in spite of personal will! When at last I went to bed, it was with burning fever and tense, excited brain that would not let me sleep. Suddenly it came over me: "If I accept the word of these people and do not make the trial myself, I am to blame; the failure of effort rests with me. If I make the trial for myself and he refuses, the blame rests upon him; I shall have done my part and shall go clear." My decision was taken, and next day I went to his house between twelve and one o'clock—his reception hour. An elderly German maid answered my ring, and, as I gave her my card, said: "His Excellency lectures to-day; I doubt if you can see him, as he very seldom receives any one on the days of his lectures. However, as this is the first lecture of the semester, I will present your card and see." In a moment she came back to ask me to come in; his Excellency would see me. I was shown into a long, handsome room. The end at which I entered was furnished in the manner of a reception-room, with chairs and sofa; at the farther end of the room, in front of a wall of bookcases, was a great high desk, at one end of which was a bust of Descartes, at the other one of Hegel looking down upon it. Professor Fischer had but shortly before finished revising his great volume on Descartes, and was now engaged upon Hegel.

From behind the high desk emerged the professor, a man of barely medium height, strongly built, with short grayish hair, a curiously sharp, small, and crooked nose, and blue eyes that saw through you and beyond. He came quickly, it seemed to me impatiently, across the room, shuffling a little in his carpet slippers, my card in his hand and the unmistakable question in his eyes, "What do you want with me?" "Your Excellency," I began (he was a Privy Councilor to the Grand Duke of Baden, of which duchy Heidelberg is the University), "your Excellency, I have come a long way—from Canada—to study with you." "I never admit women," came back curtly, and he made as if to turn away. I went on as if he had not spoken. "I have come a long way—from Canada—because of my humble but intense admiration for your work, my consuming interest in the study of philosophy." "I never admit women," he repeated; but I went on quickly: "I read philosophy under John Watson, the greatest Kantian scholar we have, author of 'Kant and His Minor Critics,' etc., etc. You were our final authority, your works the last word in our study of the history of modern philosophy. And, as I came to know

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your works more and more fully, I looked forward with more and more eagerness to the day when I should be able to cross the ocean to study with you." I did not say all this without interruption. It was punctuated by that same objection bitten off sharply, "I never admit women;" but when I finally paused a moment he said, "I have never admitted women." I noted the change of tense, and my heart gave a great leap, but I did not appear to notice it; I went right on with my story. After a few minutes he waved me toward the sofa. "Sit down," he commanded. "Come, tell me, what do you think my analysis of Berkeley's Idealism means." Then followed an examination, on philosophic systems and on his own writings, of which I have since then no memory. I know only that I told him things I never knew and doubtless never will know. I lay it to thought transference. What was in his mind seemed to leap into mine, revealed as by an electric flash. Suddenly, in the middle of one of his own sentences, he rose and held out his hand. As I met it with mine he said, just as grimly as ever, "I lecture this afternoon at four o'clock, and shall be glad to see you." I managed to get his signature to my list of courses, to stammer out my thanks, and to get out of the door before reaction overtook me and I sobbed aloud.

At two o'clock I went to see the great Germanist Wilhelm Braune. He greeted me kindly, graciously welcomed me to his classes, and was about to sign the list for me, when he noticed the signature "Kuno Fischer" just above the space for his own. Starting to his feet, leaning over the table to peer short-sightedly into my face, he brought his great fist with full force down upon the table—"*Mein Gott!* but how did you do that?" he cried.

Two hundred men gazed in amaze as I sat down in the philosophy lecture-room that afternoon. Many, I know, expected that "Bedell" to come and "remove the lady." The news went abroad, and after the lecture several of the women studying in the University—Germans for the most part—meeting me in the upper hall, put their arms around me, the foreign stranger, and, with tears, thanked me that the last and strongest wall was down. To them it mattered not so much, at that stage of their studies, that they could not take the philosophy lecture proper; but all greatly desired to hear the series on Goethe and Schiller to be delivered by Professor Fischer a little later in the year; and, indeed, so large did the attendance on these classes become that his Excellency had to quit the class-room as too small, and speak in the Convocation Hall; for men and women alike thronged to them, coming in train-loads even from Mannheim and Frankfort.

Thus fell the last barrier to women students at Heidelberg, and Kuno Fischer, as Privy Councilor to the Grand Duke of Baden, thereafter warmly supported the Grand Duke in his fair and generous attitude toward women, so that in the ensuing year a bill was passed giving women in the University of Baden the same rights as men; making Heidelberg the first university in Germany into which women could matriculate and be enrolled on the same basis as men; and making women eligible for all degrees, orders, and decorations for which men were eligible.

A few weeks after my admission to the lectures in philosophy I was ill with a severe attack of *la grippe*. Professor Fischer noticed my absence from lectures and inquired of a mutual acquaintance as to its cause, kindly expressing concern. In a few days I was in my place again in the front row. The German professor lectures from a high pulpit desk, and after the conclusion of the lecture the students remain seated, stamping their feet in applause, until he has descended in remote dignity from this pulpit and quitted the room. On this day Professor Fischer paused in his progress across the front of the room, stopped in front of me, and asked after my health, expressing pleasure that I was able to be out again. Of course I was on my feet in an instant and wholly overwhelmed with confusion. It could have meant no more to one of his students in those days at Heidelberg had the Emperor stopped in his royal procession along the street and descended to talk with a mortal. The applause ceased; two hundred men craned their necks and stared; many of them deciding, as I afterwards learned, that I was a princess royal, which fact alone could, in their

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estimation, account for such unheard-of happenings.

At last came the time for my examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examining professors voted me the degree with the highest possible ranking—"*summa cum laude*"—a rank not conferred in philosophy at Heidelberg for seven years previous. This was gratifying to Professor Kuno Fischer; he rejoiced in it as much as I, who could not, indeed, grasp at all how it had come about. I went to see him on the day after the examination, to thank him for it, according to University tradition, and also to say good-by, as I was to return to America at once. When it came to saying good-by, the great old man, full of years and of honors, for fifty years a reverenced professor of Heidelberg, visited in his home by grand dukes and princes and by the Emperor himself, took me by the hand and, with tears in his eyes, said to me, solemnly: "I can imagine nothing more beautiful in all the world than for a young girl to come away alone, across the sea, to seek wisdom, to find out understanding, and to succeed brilliantly as you have done. Now I want to say one last thing to you: Don't forget you have a *heart*, for truly 'out of the heart are the issues of life.'" Almost overcome by the sudden, full realization that this was the thing of greatest significance for me gleaned from those years of study, I confessed earnestly: "Oh, your Excellency, you great men in Germany have taught me that. Your childlike simplicity and directness, your big, tender hearts, and your large faith have shown me that the merely intellectual development I came to seek is not, as I had thought, the highest thing in the world. I came here seeking intellectual development as the greatest thing to be gained in life; I go away perceiving that to the heart is given perception to which the mind is blind; to the heart are vouchsafed insight and vision never granted to the intellect alone." "Do you remember," he asked me, "what we are told Richard Wagner was wont to say as he sat at breakfast with a new day before him? 'If we could but keep our hearts pure this day, untainted by the many pettinesses, untouched by the things the world deems important, undiverted by the fictitious values and standards set up by various sections of mankind, who knows what visions—aye, of Infinity itself—might be vouchsafed to us?'"

The time had come for me to seek the honor and privilege of an examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Heidelberg. First of all, it was necessary, and—what is more important in that five-hundred-year-old University—traditional, to make a call on the Dean of the Philosophic Faculty to request such examination, to arrange through him the obtaining of its sanction from the Senate—or "*Facultät*"—the determination of the date, etc.

The Dean of the Philosophic Faculty was a very learned bachelor of between fifty and sixty, who lived in great seclusion and was generally esteemed exceedingly crusty. He could see no justification for woman's invading the University precincts, so long sacred to men, and had not the slightest patience with their presence in Heidelberg. Every woman there had a tale of how unnecessarily disagreeable he had been in an interview she had had with him. I had not met him at all during the course of my work at Heidelberg, and naturally dreaded the interview, and mounted the steps to his apartment with considerable anxiety. As it was his "consultation hour," I was shown directly to the door of his study by a maid, who rapped, then left me standing there alone. "Come in," he called. I opened the door and stood just inside. The study was a long room, entirely lined with books, with a big desk at the end nearest the door, piled with books and papers, as was every table and every chair. At the farther end, Dean von D—— was engaged in rearranging books on some shelves. He looked around when I entered. "Dean von D——," I began, "I am Miss B——, and have come to see you about the honor of being admitted to examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy." He went right on with his work. "Huh!" he rejoined; "yes, I know; in such and such subjects, with Professors So and So." Then, in a tone of mingled wonder and contempt: "Kuno Fischer tells me you interest

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yourself especially in Greek philosophy! Why in the world do you do that? Can you read Greek?" The incredulity in the tone of the man, working away with his back to me, hushed my voice to a very faint "Yes, fairly." In rage of disdain and indignation that a woman should want to do these things, he fairly stormed, "Have you read all the dialogues of Plato in the original?" "No," I returned, a little stung by the injustice, "I haven't; have you?" He turned like a flash, looked at the young, slight, blonde girl in the doorway there, and burst out laughing. For a moment he stood there, enjoying himself hugely; then, crossing the room to me, shook hands with me, swept a mass of papers and books off a chair beside the desk, and said, quite cordially, "Sit down and tell me just what you want." When I had told him, his eyes always scrutinizingly on my face, he said: "Now, of course, I know all this already, and I am sorry that there is some trouble about your examination. You have not been in residence at the University long enough." "But I had a perfectly good M.A. degree when I came from Canada," I protested, "and I was in Paris about a year." "Yes, I know," he conceded, "and your own professors are anxious that you should have it, but several of the members of the Faculty think we must keep to a hard and fast rule about residence. There is a danger of foreigners thinking us too easy. Yesterday we refused a man from the United States who has been here almost as long as you have. And Dean S—— is dead against it;" adding, with a twinkle in his eye, "He doesn't like women students, you know." Suddenly, with a lightning glance from under his bushy brow, he poured forth sharply a volley of questions: "Why do you want it, anyway? What possesses you to come here and study? Are you going to teach? Do you really think women should go into professions and all that, just like the men?"

My opportunity to plead the cause of those who do things because they *must* was granted to me: "It is possible that I will teach," I replied, "but it is not to prepare for teaching that I have come here. Why do I do this? Why does a musician practice hours and hours daily, cut himself off from his kind, and often from life, for years and years, study, work, slave? For fame, you say? But if it never comes, as so often it does not, does he stop? He *cannot* stop. He dreams, and in his dreams he hears what he would play and how, and he works on, though no recognition comes. He *cannot help it.* An artist, too, will paint on, work and toil, though no outward sign of attainment is ever given him; though he go into old age unacclaimed and poor as poverty itself. Musician and painter alike are driven by a power within, an inner force—'*innerer Trieb*' you would call it. *They cannot help it;* they are powerless. They must so realize themselves. And I—did I leave my father and mother in deepest sorrow for their only daughter, and come away across the ocean alone because I *wanted to?* Did I pace the floor here night after night in my homesickness, alone in Germany, not a soul I knew in all the land, among a foreign people speaking a strange language, because of a whim, a fancy—because I *wanted to?* No: because I *must.* I do *not* believe in women studying in the universities with men, entering the professions with men, unless they have to; unless they *must.* If a woman can keep out of it, she should keep out of it. But if she cannot—if there is an inner force stronger than she that drives her on, an all-consuming passion to know, a power within that goads, 'On! On! You *must* know, you *must* see, you *must* understand!' *She cannot help it.*"

A silence fell. At last I arose. "I understand," he said, simply. "I will do anything I can for you."

A few days later I met him on the street in company with one of the assistant professors. Next day this professor asked me, "What has happened to the Dean? When we met you last evening, he said to me, 'That is Miss B——, *sie ist nicht so dumm*'" (she is not stupid). Words interpreted by the professor as high praise indeed for a woman from the Dean's lips.

He did richly fulfill his promise to do everything he could for me. As he had told me, some members of the Faculty were most decidedly opposed to my being granted an examination at that time, without longer residence. Before the meeting at which it was finally to be discussed

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and voted on, Dean von D—— took the trouble to make personal calls on all the professors with whom I had done work and who were favorable to me, to request them especially to be present at the meeting. By this means he secured a majority for me, and I was granted an examination. He was as happy as I was over it when I called to learn the outcome. "Now, the next thing is," he went on, "on what date would you like to have the examination?" "I should prefer the 25th of next month." "That is taken, I am sorry to say; I gave it to a man just yesterday. Can't you make it the 18th?" "Yes, I can make it the 18th," I admitted, unwillingly, "but I should like the 25th better." "Any special reason?" he laughed. "Well, it would give me more time, and I just had my heart set on it, that is all," I answered; "but the 18th will do if I cannot have the 25th." The next morning he sent the University "Bedell" with a note to tell me that the man whose examination had been set for the 25th had received a change of date to the 18th, and that I might have the 25th.

The 25th over, I went to pay my call of ceremony and to receive the small certificate that should testify to the granting of the degree until such time as my dissertation should be printed and the parchment signed. "I suppose you have no objections to my adding this?" he asked, laughingly, and wrote across it, "Highest possible Honors." Then, taking my hand in good-by, he said: "But, seriously, I congratulate you. I wish I might hear from you when you are back in America, as to what you are doing and what comes next; and with all my heart I wish you God-speed in your further quest."

YOUNG CHINA IN THE CLASS-ROOM

BY J. T. ADDISON

WITH the finished product of Western education in China Americans are more or less familiar. The Mr. Wongs and Mr. Lis sent to our universities by their Government not only figure creditably in college catalogues, but even achieve newspaper notoriety. They arrive here fairly well polished and fall readily into our ways; and their resemblance to our own students is perhaps more obvious than are their alien characteristics. Yet more interesting at bottom than these surprising samples of reform is the home material from which they are drawn. In fact, it is the observation of the rank and file of Chinese schoolboys in their native country—as yet unshorn and still thoroughly Oriental—that gives to the Chinese undergraduates in America their real significance.

If you take a glimpse at these students in the earlier stages of evolution, while America to them is only a hopeful dream, and they are still grinding at work in Government or missionary colleges, you will find them far more startlingly and amusingly different from our own schoolboys than the Amercanized Chinese student would lead you to suspect. In the first place, they are out for business. From the youngster of twelve to the twenty-year-old senior, nearly ready to migrate, they are all at school with serious and definite purposes. The boarding-school boy who has left home to be got safely out of the way or to find the chance to play around with his contemporaries; the freshman who arrives with only social and athletic ambitions—these are types almost unknown. The Chinese come to Western colleges in their own land to *work*, and work they do. Thirty or more hours in class a week they will shoulder cheerfully, and athletics and "college life" must take their chances. One of the great problems in America is to stimulate a demand for learning; in China one needs only to satisfy the demand.

Such a receptive attitude and habits so industrious naturally make for exceptionally good discipline. Under the strict control of foreigners (*i.e.*, our Western selves),

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Chinese boys and young men are extremely easy to keep in order. They are rather readily scared and very sensitive to criticism; and there is always the comfort that, if you can't see through them, they also cannot see through you. This chance of giving the impression that you have powers in mysterious reserve is a valuable asset to the disciplinarian—one which he cannot always win with boys of his own race, but which in China he inherits simply because he is an inscrutable alien. It is mainly, however, in our best missionary colleges that such strict order prevails. Many of the Government schools and universities run by the Chinese themselves are hovering on the edge of rebellion. Not a few have had to close for the mortifying reason that the authorities could not manage the students. And such a situtation is not surprising when we remember that the Chinese teachers are the worst disciplinarians in the world; and that from a proud young generation, every member of which feels that he is China's Only Hope, it is not easy to exact respect and obedience. The boys, in the first place, are ruthlessly critical of their instructors' ability. If they conceive the notion that their professor is weak in scholarship or ragged in his methods, they let him know at once. Last year, for instance, in one of the very best of the Government colleges, a group of masterful undergraduates reached the conclusion that their physics teacher was not of as high a type as they had hoped. So, by way of showing how calm Orientals are and how devious their methods, they locked the door and court-martialed him. Swift justice had just brought in a verdict of "guilty" when the President arrived on the scene. He stormed about for a little, merely to give the effect that he knew what his duty was. But he could not prevent the boys from sending a telegram to the Peking Board of Education lodging a complaint against his very self—an achievement to be checkmated only by wiring his resignation. This he did in hot haste. Everybody by this time had played his part—"saved his face," to use the Chinese phrase—and nothing was left but to finish the tangle by explaining and apologizing. The upshot was that the students gave the President another chance, the President overlooked the insubordination, and—the teacher was shifted to another class. In the hands of young Chinese like these, a native teacher, even when modern and well equipped, is at a disadvantage; and if he is of the traditional fossilized old woman type, he is helpless. Success, however, is more easily won by the foreigner—that strange person from overseas who is far less eager to preserve mere appearances than to stand for a principle, and who knows (as very few Chinese do) how to put down his foot and say "No."

As far, then, as being receptive, orderly, and industrious goes, the Chinese are a pleasure to teach. And doubtless schoolmasters in America would think that was all a man had any right to ask. But Western boys and young men have atoning virtues that one doesn't realize until one gets to China.

In the first place, nearly all the Chinese in colleges are very slow—due partly to reciting in a foreign language, but largely to sluggishness and cautiousness of temperament. Even the brightest are deliberate, and the "duffers" are inconceivably heavy and dumb. The pace is further slackened by the obstinate Chinese habit of refusing to say "I don't know." If the well-known question were put to a Chinaman, he would answer, "I'd rather *be* a greater fool than I *look*." His great moral aim is to preserve appearances, to avoid embarrassing discoveries or awkward situations, or, as he puts it, "to save his face." Now, to some extent a boy "loses face" when he gets up before the class and says, "I don't know." So he much prefers to stand mute as long as you will let him. It never occurs to him that a five-minute interval of depressing silence spells ignorance as clearly as a brief confession. However, he hasn't committed himself or lost face, and doesn't intend to, no matter how much the recitation may be delayed. The result is that you often have to pull answers out of him inch by inch.

Again, the Westerner misses the humor that enlivens the recitation of so many good teachers in this country—the standing jokes, the well-tempered chaff and banter, and all the quick sympathy that makes real fun possible. The Chinese

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boys' sense of humor is broad and blunt, and there is a kind of oppressive doggedness in their attitude toward work. They will laugh, of course, if a pupil catches his queue in the desk as he gets up—a frequent accident; but that calls for no very facile appreciation. Fine points are beyond all but a few, for they look on the task in hand as all of a piece and all solemn. I found that they attack "Tom Brown's School-Days" in a spirit that would conquer Kant's "Critique;" and I have never seen more wide-eyed earnestness than a youngster in a reading class threw into his rendering of Stevenson's pirate song, "Yo-ho-ho and a Bottle of Rum!" It should be said, though, that a sense of humor in these Easterners is not so much lacking as it is undeveloped. It can be drawn out and stimulated. Such encouragement, too, is not only possible but almost necessary. A teacher must either get some fun out of the solemn hours, stir up some gleam in the passive faces, or else go melancholy-mad. A Chinese boy would not be at all surprised at a professor who had gone melancholy-mad; but one who has taken the other alternative is a constant puzzle to him.

Their heaviness is still more readily understood if we remember their incurable and ancestral habit of drawing a moral from everything. The Chinese, ever since Confucius, have been drawing "sermons from stones." In literary criticism, for instance, they could quarry texts from "Sweet and Low" or "Ulalume;" and every boy who studied Lamb's "Tales" with me was interested mainly in the salutary ethics to be extracted from every plot. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that every boy wished it to appear that that was his sole interest. A Chinese pupil will always write for a teacher what he thinks the teacher wants him to say—not (in the refreshing Occidental manner) what he really thinks. To make your teacher realize that you are a moral, circumspect model of a youth, trained in all traditions, has been the age-long method of achieving academic honors; and it is long before the young Oriental realizes that it won't work on Westerners.

I remember one freshman, for instance, who plainly wanted to impress me with his Christian devoutness. So he recounted in a composition a pathetic tale of how a fatal note was handed to him one day in class. It told of his grandmother's death, and thereat he burst into tears. Immediately he rushed to his room and seized his Bible, and before he had finished the first chapter of Matthew his tears were dried. Slightly skeptical at this latter-day miracle, I referred critically to Matthew i., and discovered, as I suspected, that it was a complete genealogy. What comfort in bereavement he derived from a full account of the begettors and begettees of Zerubbabel and the rest he left me to work out. And yet in China that is not hypocrisy.

Partly because of the priggish conventionality of which this Christian was a victim, but mainly owing to the laborious prudence, the self-consciousness, and the humdrum earnestness which I have described, it is clear that the competition, the snap, the rapid give and take, possible in good classes here, are unknown in China. The whole *tempo* of a recitation is often drearily slow, even when lessons are not ill learned. If I may put it musically, I should say that Eastern recitations were *andante*, frequently *largo*. The prevailing *allegro* of the West—and, of course, the occasional cheerful *scherzo*—are not to be found elsewhere. And yet even drawbacks of this kind can hardly offset the rare comfort that comes to a teacher who wants to teach from classes that really want to learn and do not shrink from paying the price of effort.

But, if we find the Chinese boys very unlike the American in the class-room, we find them rather less so when it comes to interests outside of school. In athletics, for instance, they are growing surprisingly proficient. The rationality, not to mention the fun, of out-of-door sports has only very recently been realized. Athletics seemed at first absurd to Chinese instructors; the idea was glaringly opposed to immemorial tradition. What place in an academic life could there be for sport? One collegiate director reconciled athletics with his notion of what a university ought to be by offering as prizes copies of Confucian commentaries—to be read through by each successful contestant. Either by this higher synthesis or by other compro-

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mises, nearly all Chinese educationalists acquiesce in the wisdom of encouraging sports—a momentous forward step forced on them chiefly by the leading missionary colleges. To the boys as well the proposition of playing outdoor games at first seemed distasteful. It meant almost manual labor; it involved dressing suspiciously like coolies; it might even mean getting knocked about. For such reasons as these many of the frailer sort still hold off; but the majority of young collegians now enjoy some form of sport. Association football is a favorite with the more robust. The native juvenile game of kicking a shuttlecock about has made many of them surprisingly dexterous with their feet, and when a boy combines this skill with speed he can play an admirable game of soccer. Tennis, too, is popular, as combining variety with physical security. Baseball, however, is the least popular of all games that have been introduced, and is regarded as exceptionally dangerous! Only a hardy few indulge in it. But they love to watch it, and the bolder spirits (most of whom will insist on wearing catchers' mits in the field) are always sure of an audience. Quite as fascinating, too, to onlookers, are the track and field sports. Indeed, to the foreign spectator at least, nothing can be more amusing than Young China when it races and jumps and pole-vaults. Queues are here more of a nuisance than ever. They seem never more in the way than when the owner is putting the shot. As for costume, there is no limit to the variety. Long native gowns the athletes have had to give up, reluctantly. Now they get into jerseys and running drawers; and in the most advanced circles you may even see a hero's admirers rush at him between heats and wrap him round in a gaudy blanket in the most approved home style. The Chinese never seem more Western than when you see hundreds of grown men and women crowding the housetops and pressing against the ropes to watch the events at some local interscholastic meet. Such matches, in fact, are nowadays more than local. A striking feature of the recent Exposition at Nanking was an intercollegiate track and field meet held in September.

But these Far Eastern students are adapting themselves to our college life not simply in athletics; their tastes are growing "normal" in still other directions. To take one instance, they are naturally very fond of music. That which passes for music in China is their constant delight, and in the musical side of college social life they are especially eager to be proficient. No one who has not heard the freshmen or the sophomore struggling with foreign instruments like the cornet or flute or European fiddle can realize with what valorous persistence they stumble toward achievement. No really up-to-date college lacks a glee club; and on festal days quartets are always ready to render selections that seldom fail to remind one of the close harmony one hears at home. Then, too, each class will have its song. Such official productions are, of course, usually modeled after those of our own land—echoes of Princeton or Yale; but, since all tunes look alike to the boys, you may hear, as I did once, a college song sung in a Confucian hall (with a heathen president leading) to the tune of "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Such a performance is less surprising when you remember that, at least in the numerous Christian schools and colleges, hymn tunes are always the most familiar. In fact, in the absence of our fresh supply from comic operas, you are more than likely to hear a group of cheerful and by no means pious collegians joining, from sheer sociable exuberance, in "Rock of Ages" or whistling "The Church's One Foundation."

Class songs are only one example of the outward expression of class and college loyalty which is growing in the modern schools and universities. Though apparently a foreign importation, such sentiment makes a strong appeal. The mere capacity to organize as a corporate class is an interesting development; and in the colleges where it is carried to the point of class meetings and elections, badges and banquets and cheers, any Westerner would feel at home. His only fear might be that higher loyalty to the institution as a whole and readiness to suffer sacrifice for it are likely to develop more slowly than the showier symptoms.

Of all out-of-class activities, however, dramatic productions call forth the great-

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est enthusiasm. Here there is no forced growth. Every Chinese loves the play, and a surprising number of boys make admirable actors. In my own college four or five plays were given last year, managed entirely by the students themselves. Nothing is more astonishing than to see the same boys who are so phlegmatic and deliberate as pupils and so irreproachably dignified when on their good behavior display on the stage the most extraordinary animation. An unexpected percentage are born actors. In contrast with the tentative and awkward self-consciousness of most school amateur work hereabouts, they show not only life-like energy and voluble abandon, but a capacity for expressing the comic that makes their little farces continuously entertaining.

Perhaps enough has been said, even in a brief space, to show that the young Chinese, like their ancestors, cannot be easily classified or definitely labeled. If you find that they are sober and hard-working, you find also that on suitable occasions they enjoy feasting and rioting. Though you may try to stamp them as monotonously earnest or priggish, you discover at the same time that among themselves they are normally noisy and talkative and sociable. They are at once as irritating, as satisfying, and as puzzling as all other Orientals. And yet, by way of a safe and saving conclusion, one fact can be established. In all their apparently contradictory activities they are through and through conservative. So, for that matter, are most American school-boys. But the difference is that with the Chinese young man conventionality is his *ideal*. Calmly effective he may be as long as he is working in a familiar groove; once out of that rut, he is at a loss. The well-to-do and educated young Chinese depends so wholly on the promptings of custom and tradition that he is more helpless in a new situation, less capable, so to speak, of "falling on his feet" in an emergency, than even the least experienced and resourceful of our own boys. To develop individuality, to encourage independent thinking, to draw out and accentuate suppressed *personality*—these are the tasks of the Western teacher. The younger generation in China is in a special sense a "rising" one. Its future achievements will be worthy of its splendid capacities if Western learning can carry with it Western resourcefulness and initiative and freedom.

EDUCATION: HOW OLD THE NEW

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE title above is that of a book by Dr. James J. Walsh,[1] the Dean and Professor of the History of Medicine at Fordham University and the Professor of Physiological Psychology at the Cathedral College of New York. Dr. Walsh has written a number of volumes well worth reading, the best of all being his exceedingly appreciative "History of the Thirteenth Century;" a volume, by the way, which can with advantage be read in connection with the essay on the same subject by Frederic Harrison, whose view is substantially that of Dr. Walsh.

Dr. Walsh contributes two or three points of view which it is advantageous to have emphasized in our American intellectual life of to-day. His first essay on education takes flat issue with the common theory that everything represents astounding progress at the present day, that we have nothing to learn at any point from the past, and that we are justified in fatuous self-satisfaction with everything about the present. So far is this from being true, as Dr. Walsh shows very clearly, that there has never been a great civilization in the past which on some point or other does not stand ahead of our civilization to-day; progress on the whole has been rhythmic, long periods of retrogression succeeding the periods when the world has gone forward. With this

[1] The Fordham University Press, New York.

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statement of the facts I entirely agree, although I feel that, on the whole, it is undoubtedly true that the movement has been forward. But it would be quite impossible to show any advance among any of our people of the present day over certain sections of society in, for instance, the Judea of the great Hebrew prophets, in the Athens of Pericles, in the thirteenth century in various parts of western Europe. The essay on "The First Modern University"—that of Alexandria—is capital; and the author's appreciation of mediæval scientific universities, again, contains things that we as a people need to learn, including, by the way, the fact that in Spanish America excellent work was done in great universities before in what is now our country there was any institution of learning ranking above a second-rate school. These universities in Spanish America did what is really far and away the most telling of all intellectual work—that is, they did work in actual productive scholarship before in the English-speaking colonies such a thing as productive scholarship was known. This will doubtless be brought out when we have a professorial interchange with Spain as we now have with Germany. Again, in the essay on "Ideal Popular Education," introduced by an admirable quotation from Plato, Dr. Walsh emphasizes some of what the best-informed men are now agreed upon in regarding as the greatest needs in modern education, and especially in our American education.

Of course there are things in Dr. Walsh's book with which I do not agree, and I am sorry he included the essay on "New Englandism." It does not do justice either to him or his subject. But the essays as a whole deserve study, and they make a volume which should be in the library not only of every scholar but of every thinking man who wishes a broad outlook on the American needs of the day.

THE NEW BOOKS

As a dominating personality, Tzu-Hsi, the late Empress Dowager of China, ought to be ranked with Catharine of Russia and Elizabeth of England. Popular understanding of the age in which Tzu-Hsi lived, and of her influence on that age, so far as Chinese events are concerned, will be immensely helped now that Messrs. J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse have published their "China under the Empress Dowager." The book has all the ring of authority, for it has been compiled from state papers and from the private diary of the comptroller of the Empress's household. Tzu-Hsi was not only herself a remarkable ruler; she ruled at just the period when China emerged from the slough of many centuries into something like modern progress. Hence, to us, the most interesting part of her life is that which has to do with this momentous change in Chinese tendencies. In 1894–5 China had been ignominiously defeated by Japan. But China's prestige did not suffer so much as did that of the reigning dynasty. This, however, seemed to teach Tzu-Hsi nothing. On the other hand, the young Emperor, Kuang-Hsü, had been gradually won over by Weng-T'ung-Ho, the Imperial tutor, a Liberal, who, in turn, introduced the famous K'ang-Yu-Wei. These men obtained ascendency over the monarch, and he issued a number of reform edicts. One of them advised members of the Imperial clan to seek education in Europe! Another abolished the old examination system, substituting papers on practical subjects; while the classics were to remain as a basis for the literary curriculum, candidates for the public service were to be expected to display a knowledge both of the history of other countries and of contemporary politics. Another decree provided for the founding of high schools and colleges. Another ordered the publication of official gazettes throughout the Empire. Another commanded the reorganization of the effete troops. Another instituted naval colleges as a preliminary step to the reconstruction of the fleet. Another established railway and mining bureaus. Finally, the Emperor abolished a number of useless Government offices and sinecures. For generations thousands of idlers had been maintained in the enjoyment of lucrative "squeezes." Those now squeezed cried out to the Dowager to protect them. She did so. She even reversed the Emperor's progressive policy. If, as the authors point out, the Emperor had not been induced to contemplate an interference with the Empress's entire liberty, the reaction might perhaps have been averted. But the ill-advised monarch suspected that any professed sympathy for reform on the Dowager's part was a sham, and that she would avenge herself on the reformers, including himself, not only because of the hated reforms, but also for speaking disrespectfully of her private life and morals. Hence he decided to surround her residence with

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troops so as to prevent her from exercising a reactionary influence. When Yüan-Shi-K'ai and Jung-Lu (the latter the Empress's favorite) informed her of this, she summoned the members of the Grand Council. They besought her to resume the reins of government and to save the Empire from the evils of Western civilization, about to be inflicted on them by a misguided monarch. Then followed the Dowager's swift stroke-of-state, the Emperor's relegation to the rear and the Empress's readvent to power. This, in turn, was followed by the Boxer Rebellion, instigated by the Dowager, so that China might be entirely free from the foreigner. But she and the Boxers overestimated the temper of the people. The Chinese were already impregnated with Western ideas. The result was a new reformation, at once nationalistic and tolerant. It swept within its bounds the Empress herself. For the general reader the present volume is perhaps too detailed—not, however, for the serious student of history. (The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $4.)

What is meant by an unreligious person? There are a good many people—probably a considerable proportion of the readers of these words—who are rather disinclined to regard themselves as religious, if not assured that they are not religious at all. In many cases their judgment would be confirmed by the attitude toward them of people generally accounted very religious. In such cases, what is meant by "religious"? Is Sabatier right in declaring mankind incurably religious? Is religion a human instinct? Such questions involve decidedly fundamental study and thought; but they are at the same time full of human interest and very practical. Some light has been thrown upon these questions by very recent results of study of the life and customs of primitive man and observations of well-sophisticated man. It is these fundamental matters that Professor Edward Scribner Ames considers in his book on "The Psychology of Religious Experience." In the main his conclusions are very sound and well based on scientifically classified facts, and yet they are likely to astonish many readers. The reasons he gives for the irreligion of the "fast set" are not those usually assumed to be true; yet Professor Ames is in this respect undoubtedly right. This is but a chance instance. This is one of the important books of recent months; it should be read by every thoughtful minister; but it is equally adapted to any thoughtful reader, whether he calls himself religious or not. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.50.)

The death of John M. Carrère, the eminent architect, calls attention not only to his contribution to American architecture but to the fact that to-day the personal equation in that form of art has more consideration than ever before. This emphasis of the personal equation is doubtless due to the fact of the greater independence of the individual; for, as Mr. Frank E. Wallis, in his "How to Know Architecture," shows, the architect's share in the evolution of style is curiously less than would naturally be supposed. According to Mr. Wallis, the fundamental art impulse has generally, if not always, come from the people, not from the architect. Hence architecture has really been created within the limitations of popular acceptance and consideration. "There is nothing in architecture," says Mr. Wallis, "down to the curve of a molding or the proportions of an individual brick, that has not its specific human reason." The lesson to be learned, therefore, in the evolution of architectural styles is a human lesson, and the study of architectural progress becomes the study of human progress. Special point is given to this in the chapters entitled "Trade and Scientific Factors" and "Greek Factors." Mr. Wallis points out the intimate relation between the Greek temple and the American barn, and the human motive behind both. Moreover, we realize that much of our so-called "Colonial" architecture is entirely Grecian. Take many a doorway in New England farm-houses. Take the Doric porch of the Astor House, New York City, for instance, or the Ionic columns of the old Custom-House in Wall Street, or the old Corinthian colonnade in Lafayette Place. Following that of the Greeks, the greatest influence in architecture seems to have been that of mediæval France. National idealisms created both. To some the Greek and the Gothic appear as well-nigh the only complete and distinctive expressions of architectural idealism in the life story of the races. Not every one, however, will agree with Mr. Wallis that Germany has now quite solved for herself her own national problem, or has taken to herself one religion, or has become entirely cohesive and concentrated—conditions precedent to reaching an apex in the history of style. Hence we hardly expect, as apparently Mr. Wallis does, ultimately to see in Germany such a purely distinctive method of architectural expression as were the Greek and the Gothic methods. Mr. Wallis divides the history of architecture into four periods—pagan, Christian, intellectual, and modern. Doubtless the third title is arbitrary, as the author would hardly, we suppose, deny intellectuality to every period of architecture. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.)

That unique and soul-stirring story of Christian heroism and achievement which has been read in many languages—the autobiography of John G. Paton, apostle to the New Hebrides—needed a sequel to complete the record of the remarkable life that ended in 1907 at the age of eighty-four. Its last two decades are covered by the volume entitled "John G. Paton, Later Years and Farewell," by his friend A. K. Langridge and his son, Frank H. L. Paton, with an Introduction by Lord Kinnaird. In this period

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are included his two visits to this country to plead with our Government to follow the example of Great Britain in prohibiting the export of firearms and intoxicants to the savages among whom he labored—a result effected on his second visit. Again and again, after touring in the homeland to raise zeal and resources for his arduous work, meanwhile occupying his days and nights of travel in translating the New Testament for his converts, he returned to them to prosecute his advance with their aid into darker regions yet unreached by his gospel. Hardships and dangers that try the mettle of young men were no hindrance to this dauntless veteran of eighty years. Fortunately and wonderfully, the wife of his youth, whose journal forms a chapter in this volume, was spared to be his comrade till she fell asleep two years before "the racing torrent of his old age" came to rest in the grave. "These pages," says Lord Kinnaird, "will alike quicken church and family life in many lands." (Hodder & Stoughton, New York. $1.25.)

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

THE WOOL TARIFF

In your issue of March 25, under the heading of "Publisher's Department" and adjacent to the advertising pages, you print an article entitled "The Truth About K." The comments which I wish to make upon this article proceed, first, from a desire to clear at least one set of obscure allusions. Rather unpleasant reference was made in this article to critics of the wool schedule, or of the system of tariff-making which produced it. There have been several persons, perhaps not prejudiced to an extraordinary degree, who have publicly expressed themselves in condemnation of this schedule and the process of its manufacture. Mr. Taft is one. Mr. Taussig, head of the Economic Department at Harvard College, is another. Miss Ida Tarbell is a third. Whether or not they or others are meant, I do not know; but since quotations are made in this advertisement from an article which I wrote, I feel that I should bear my share of the opprobrium by naming myself as one of those who, by a corporation or group of manufacturers who do not sign the advertisement published in their interest, and by a cautious set of allusions, have had their motives brought into question.

These allusions which were printed in your magazine intended to suggest the possibility that those who have condemned Schedule K and their publishers are influenced by strange and secret motives of selfish and perhaps corrupt gain. It seems to me that the character of the critics of the wool tariff is such that they can stand these imputations without apprehension.

Another matter, however, is much more distressing to me, and arises from the fact that the defenders of Schedule K have been so successful in missing the point of the particular articles of which I cheerfully acknowledge authorship. Let me make my position clear. I am not a tariff expert; I do not claim ability to frame, with my present knowledge, a wool schedule which would be fair to all interests. I have never written against the principle of protection. My profession is not that of a writer of articles for the magazines. Finally, the suggestion that I, or the other commenters on Schedule K, have been allied with political, importing, or carded woolen interests is too old-womanish for discussion.

I watched the progress of the Payne-Aldrich Bill as any other citizen might have watched it. It seemed to me that our system of tariff-making was thoroughly bad. I had the opportunity to write about it as a paid contributor, and I chose to show how thoroughly bad it was by analyzing a particular schedule. K, it seemed to me, offered the best opportunity. I spent two or three months seeking the essential facts. I made no claim to any sensational discoveries. My material was drawn from public documents, from the debates in Congress, from recognized trade journals, from interviews, and even from testimony of the woolen and worsted men themselves, which last, by the way, in one instance, among others, grossly distorted, furnished me with the only error, I believe, into which I fell. I tried then to present these essential facts in a form in which they might be easily understood and might carry conviction to the average man. I tried to show that our method of tariff-making opened the way for manufacturers and interests with money power to go to Congress and get more than they deserved. I pointed out that sometimes, so open was the door, that entry could be made without the taint of moral delinquency. I showed that the consumer was not represented and that our tariff-making was not so much a public business as a private business. I am writing this to reaffirm my belief in every one of these conclusions.

I do not believe in tariff-making for private interests. At the bottom of their hearts the recipients of tariff favors do not. On the other hand, I can not believe in tariff-making for politics, or in the suggested revision of Schedule K at this session of Congress. To be sure, a system of tariff-making which produces a schedule like K calls upon both of our political parties for abolition as soon as possible; to have built up K is the responsibility of the Republican party; to have torn it to pieces without adequate consideration of a new schedule to replace it

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may be the responsibility of the Democratic party. But tariffs should be made, not on the say-so of organized interests, but on the uncorrupted evidence gathered and presented by a board of able men commanding universal confidence, invested with power and supplied with adequate appropriations.

Finally, as one of your subscribers, may I express my desire that just now, when the occasion offers, The Outlook will make its position clear as to Schedule K?

RICHARD WASHBURN CHILD.

Cohasset, Massachusetts.

[The subject referred to in this letter is treated at length editorially on another page. —THE EDITORS.]

A QUESTION FOR ANSWER

Your editorial paragraph on the case of Andrew Toth has raised a question in my mind. For nearly twenty years this man has been imprisoned for a crime which, it is now discovered, was committed by another. By the infliction of this punishment upon an innocent man the community has done an appalling injustice. Does not the community, therefore, owe the innocent man whatever reparation may be in its power? Nothing, of course, can repay a man for the loss of twenty years from his life; but some attempt at partial reparation could certainly be made. Why is it that such an attempt at reparation is not made as a matter of course? Why is it that there is not some automatic machinery for making a money payment (pitifully inadequate as any money payment could be in such a case) to the victim of such a mistake by the community? It seems to me that there is a clear moral obligation upon the State in a case like this, and I must confess that I cannot understand why it is not universally recognized and acted upon as a matter of course. H.

Montclair, New Jersey.

[The Outlook invites information and suggestion in reply to this question. What is now possible under the law? Ought new legislation to be adopted by the States to provide reparation, and, if so, what laws would meet the case?—THE EDITORS.]

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

Will you allow me to call your attention to certain misconceptions which underlie your two articles on "Oriental Immigration" and "Japanese Immigration" respectively? They appeared in your issues of January 14 and 28. As a help to the understanding of my personal equation, I may say that, apart from furloughs, I have resided in Japan continuously since 1869, and have enjoyed a fairly wide and varied acquaintance with her people. In the latter article you justify the unwillingness of the people of the Pacific Coast to admit large numbers of Japanese or to allow small merchants and others to take up land, on the ground that Japan in different ways takes the same attitude. More specifically, you say: "Japanese do not allow foreigners to hold land in Japan save under such restrictions as to make it practically impossible to do so."

Now, this is hardly a fair statement of the situation. Since the present treaties came into operation in 1899, foreigners have been able to acquire a so-called superficies title to real estate. Many of these run for ninety-nine years, a few for 999 years, and there is nothing in the law to prevent their running for 5,000 years. For nearly all practical purposes these titles are sufficient, though they give only surface rights.

Again, foreigners, either alone or in company with Japanese, may form corporations for any lawful purpose and purchase all the land needful for their business. Nearly all mission property is held by such corporations, and they enjoy the same rights as a corporation constituted solely of Japanese. Furthermore, last winter the Diet enacted a law at the instance of the Government enabling foreigners to hold land anywhere in Japan, excepting in certain sections under a quasi colonial regimen, namely, the Hokkaido, Formosa, etc., provided that the home country of such foreigners allows the same privilege to Japanese. The law has not yet been promulgated, but it is understood that it will be so soon as the treaties now being negotiated come into force.

This law has been in contemplation for some time, and a prominent member of the Japanese Consular Service has assured me that the delay has been due chiefly, if not solely, to the fact that it was deemed inexpedient to yield this privilege until Japan should gain her two great desiderata, namely, complete tariff autonomy and the control of the coasting trade.

But there is a more vital point where it seems to me you base your argument upon a misconception. You do not claim that the Japanese or the Chinese are inferior, but you assert that "they are different; and it is better that different men, though frankly recognizing one another as equals in the major qualities of civilization, should have different homes." "No nation is large enough for two races." You quote with approval the saying of Lafcadio Hearn that the more you cultivate a Japanese child "the more he will think in the opposite direction from you."

You say, "Lafcadio Hearn had certainly no anti-Japanese prejudice." If you had read "Japan: An Interpretation," you could hardly have written that sentence. As a matter of fact, Hearn had no sympathy with the new life in Japan, and, so far as appears, never came into such relations with the people at large as to render him a true interpreter of the thoughts and sentiments which characterize the nation to-day.

Even within what might seem to be his own special province, his descriptions of Japan and her people were the pictures of an impressionist, and the subjective element was always abnormally prominent. One might as well quote Augustus J. C. Hare as

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an authority on the life and aspirations of the leaders of thought in modern Italy as to refer to Lafcadio Hearn regarding modern Japan.

The power of assimilation of the Japanese is very great—quite as great, I fancy, as that of the average immigrants from southern Europe, and there is no intrinsic reason for restricting immigration from Japan that does not hold with practically equal force in the case of immigrants from southern Europe.

There are, however, substantial grounds upon which to base a general law which shall not merely bar out undesirables, but which shall at the same time check the inordinate tide of immigration which so seriously delays the process of assimilation. I am also quite ready to admit that the existing prejudice against the Japanese in certain sections, however unjust, is a fact with which our statesmen must deal, and, on the whole, I think our President and his predecessor have adopted a wise policy—a policy to which the Japanese authorities have in their turn responded in a spirit of intelligent friendliness. While admitting all this, I cannot admit your implied assertion that a Japanese, though educated in a Western environment, will remain, with his children after him, to the third generation, an Oriental still. The facts when fairly studied do not look that way. There is hardly a country in the world which is more surely caught in that vast current of thought and feeling which makes for the unity of our Western civilization. Even the so-called reaction in Japan has been due not so much to retroactive forces in Japan herself as to that great wave of Chauvinism, originating in Europe, which gave to the United States and to other countries similar nationalistic reactions.

No, the spirit of New Japan is in close harmony with that of the Western world, and a more careful study of the past seventy-five years of Japanese history will show that your theory of racial difference has no substantial ground.

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE.

Tokyo, Japan.

[The Rev. D. C. Greene, the writer of this letter, is a well-known Congregational missionary in Japan. His letter, therefore, has special weight so far as it relates to the conditions in Japan and to the characteristics of the Japanese people. Mr. Greene makes two points, one with regard to the law concerning the ownership of land in Japan, the other regarding racial differences between the Japanese people and peoples of European origin. As to the first point, it seems to us that what Mr. Greene says confirms the position of The Outlook, that Japan herself, by her own action, recognizes the right of a nation to determine for itself how it shall control the ownership of land within its own territory. As to the second point, it seems to us that Mr. Greene does not clearly distinguish between fact and opinion. He recognizes that there are differences between the Japanese people and peoples of European origin, but he declares that these differences are merely superficial. The point, however, is not whether they are superficial, but whether they are such as to make it impracticable for large numbers of Japanese to become residents of the United States. The relations between two peoples within the same territory are as likely to be disturbed by what Mr. Greene regards as superficial differences as by differences which he would term fundamental. The fact is that in America under present conditions a race so distantly related to European peoples as the Japanese is not assimilable. The United States will not do its duty to the world if it allows within its own borders the growth of a race problem that will duplicate that which it has not yet solved.—THE EDITORS.]

THE RIGHT TO WORK

In your issue of January 21 Mrs. Hillis makes use of the following argument: "Every place filled by a girl to whom self-support is unnecessary lessens the chance of some girl a little less well qualified, makes competition a little keener, and brings down the scale of wages for both men and women, thus making the possibility of a home in the future a little more distant for herself or for some one else."

To the ordinary reader, whatever the writer may have had in mind, the thought conveyed is that well-nigh universally prevalent, but nevertheless totally indefensible, idea that it is a moral wrong for a person, especially a woman, who has means for support without her working, to undertake any manner of remunerative employment. Allowing that her title to the property is without a flaw legal or moral, the fact remains that any adult, able-bodied person who draws a living for which he or she does not return to the world a full equivalent ought to be rated in the category of the most despicable animals known to man, those which sustain a low order of existence by attaching themselves to higher forms of life.

By a similar argument liquor dealers show the iniquity of any measure to abolish their business: farmers and laborers will be thrown out of work. Others draw consolation for the destruction of a vast conflagration because it will provide work for the poor laboring man. In like manner labor unions object to setting State prisoners to work at remunerative employment because free workingmen are thereby defrauded of the right to work.

It is as though one should say that if two men were cast on a desert isle, the property of one of the two, the owner must not work because it is wicked to defraud his fellow of work. Fie upon such reasoning! The law of Moses is better. Six days shalt thou labor, all of you; and from the abundance so produced rest assured that the poor girl will be more certain of sufficient reward out of the double production than at present out of the half.

ARTHUR G. BUGBEE.

Philadelphia.

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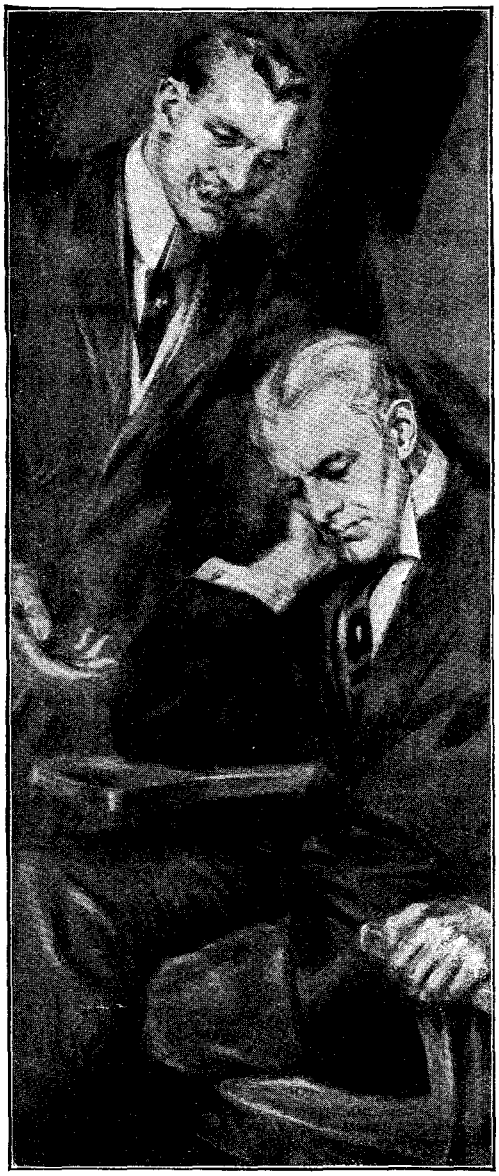

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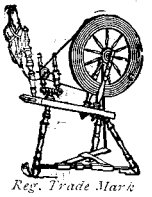

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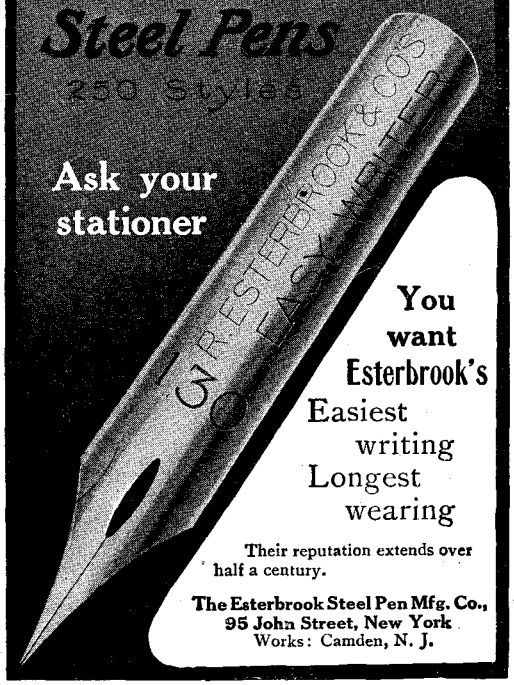

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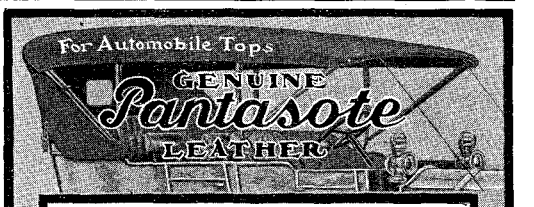

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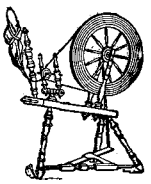

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